

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Huge support for AFL-CIO march against budget Labor, civil rights, women's groups mobilize for September 19

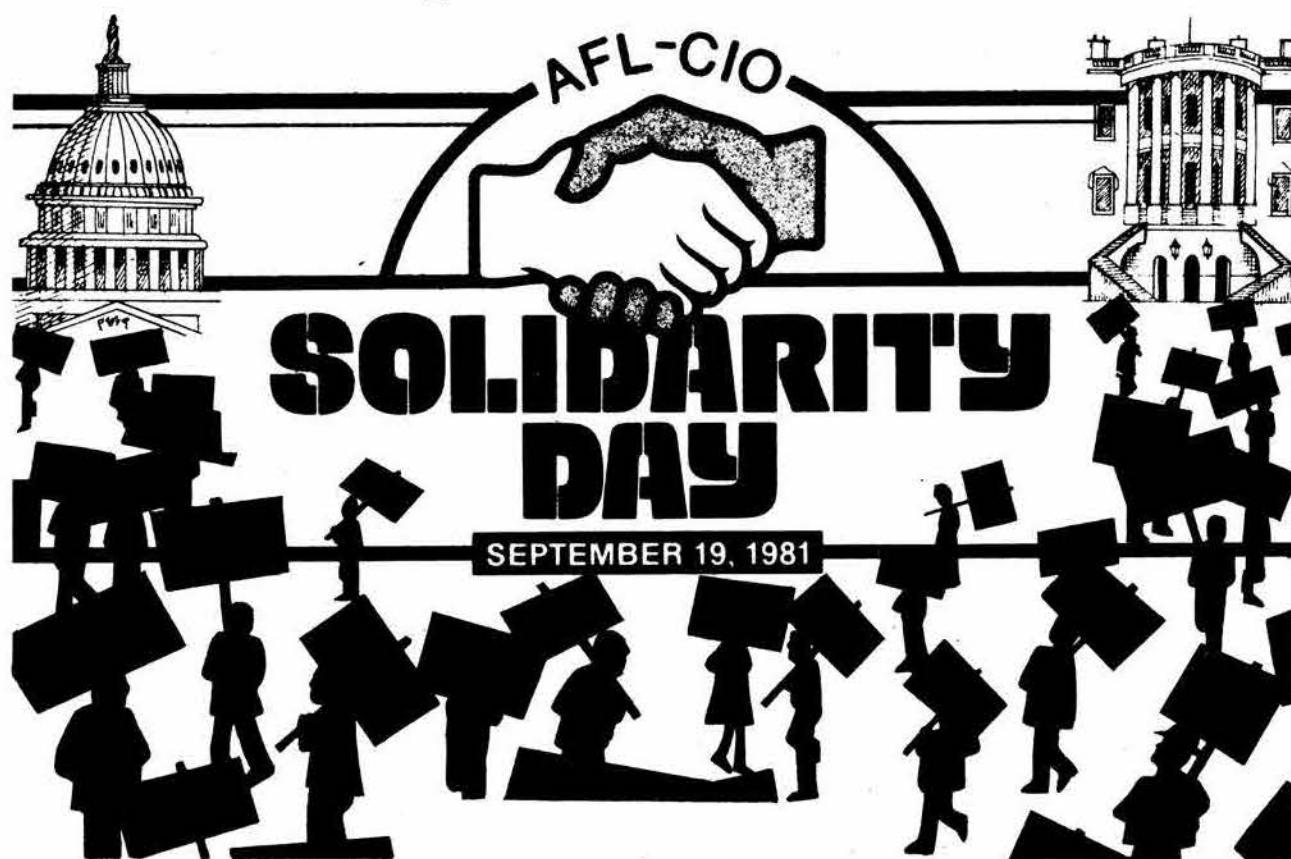
An historic march on Washington is gathering momentum in union halls, Black, Latino, and women's organizations, in cities across the country.

The AFL-CIO is calling on everyone to converge on the capital September 19 in a massive demonstration for social justice and against the criminal cutbacks by the Reagan administration and Congress.

This march is something new in American politics.

The AFL-CIO, representing 14 million union members, has never organized a massive political demonstration like this before, a protest directed against government policy. More than 100 unions and 200 other organizations have joined in the protest.

The unions have appealed to the ranks to turn out. "A demonstration of



### An editorial

rank-and-file support" for social justice "will be the most effective response to the administration's claim that it speaks for the working people of America," says AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

The response has been massive. The AFL-CIO predicts 100,000 people will pour into Washington from Baltimore alone. And clear across the country, in Seattle, the International Association of Machinists has chartered four 747 jets to bring demonstrators to the capital.

The action is called Solidarity Day, and in that spirit the unions have reached out to those who suffer most from the budget cuts. The AFL-CIO-led coalition for September 19 already in-

cludes major civil rights and women's rights groups.

A Solidarity Day advisory board has been set up. In addition to the heads of major unions, the board includes leaders of the NAACP, Operation PUSH, Urban League, National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, League of United Latin American Citizens, and U.S. Students Association.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Donahue reported to the Baltimore Central Labor Council that among the central demands on September 19 will be women's rights, civil rights, jobs, and justice. Groups are expected to bring their own banners. "Solidarity Day is for everyone, not just union members," he told the recent Urban League convention.

United Auto Workers President Dou-

glas Fraser, addressing the recent NAACP convention, summed up the importance of this united action. "We must mobilize for Solidarity Day on September 19," he said. "We've got to mobilize the greatest demonstration since the March on Washington in 1963."

"This is a time to stand together, a time to fight. And if we do that, We Shall Overcome."

NAACP President Benjamin Hooks pointed to the Black community's stake in this alliance with labor. "The NAACP shares a common humanity with the workers of the AFL-CIO and the basic goals and objectives that will be brought to the fore by this joint demonstration."

To organize a coalition of labor and the organizations of the most oppressed is unprecedented for the AFL-CIO. The federation did not endorse the giant

*Continued on next page*



## ...support Sept. 19

Continued from page 1

1963 civil rights march on Washington. It spoke out *against* the massive marches against the war in Vietnam.

But as Lane Kirkland explained, "Changing times call for changing tactics."

Indeed, times have changed for the working people of this country and the world.

Congress has just massively increased the military budget at the same time it approved Reagan's plans to dismantle social programs that have existed for half a century.

Nothing once considered a right—from Social Security to health care—is safe from the rulers of this country. The elderly can no longer plan to scrape by on measly Social Security checks. The children of this country are having the food taken out of their mouths by food stamp cuts. Unemployed youth are watching job centers

### Notice to our readers

This is the last issue of the 'Militant' before our summer break. The next issue will appear in three weeks and will be dated August 28.

close, CETA programs slashed. They're promised a "job" fighting a war for the Pentagon instead.

Those who do have jobs confront plant shut-downs, wage cuts, speedup and forced overtime. Big business openly declares the "Chrysler solution" is its plan for workers everywhere.

This nightmare is magnified for Blacks, Latinos, and women. Congress is threatening to cancel the Voting Rights Act and has already moved to seriously undermine busing for school desegregation and affirmative action. Thousands of women have been driven to back-alley abortionists by cutbacks in Medicaid. A simple amendment to the Constitution stating that women are equal has not been ratified.

The backdrop to this relentless assault on our social, economic, and democratic rights at home is the growing danger of war abroad. The Pentagon is amassing the largest and most terrifying arsenal of weapons known to humanity. The Justice Department is taking steps to round up young men who won't register for the draft.

The American people rightly fear that another Vietnam is in the making.

Working people are on the defensive in this country today. There is no more talk of "guns and butter." Today, it's "guns and guns."

Democratic and Republican politicians—liberal and conservative alike—openly call for sacrifice from working people and for giveaways to the big corporations.



The government's attitude toward the leadership of the unions and Black and women's groups is that it can't give them the time of day. (The AFL-CIO didn't even get an invitation to the White House until six months after Reagan took office.)

Millions of working people feel something must be done: their organizations must move into action.

An effective counteroffensive against the bipartisan attacks by the two capitalist parties, Congress, and the courts must include more massive protests like September 19. September 19 is a challenge to the powers that be. It says working people want an alternative to the anti-labor, anti-Black, antiwoman Reagan administration.

The employers have their own political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—but we have none.

Think about it. On September 19, thousands upon thousands will march through Washington to say no to cuts in social security, unemployment benefits, health care; to say no to the war budget that takes food out of our children's mouths; to say no to the moves to take away laws protecting the unions, Blacks, women.

This is the opposite of the program the Democrats and Republicans are carrying out. Because we don't have our own political party, we have no independent voice in Washington.

The unions and other organizations that have united to call September 19, and the masses who will march that day, are the forces that can form a new party, a labor party that would speak up for the interests of working people, Black and white; for the elderly and the young; for unionists and the unemployed.

A labor party would be a party of the majority—the people who keep this country running and should be running the country.

The idea of a labor party has been discussed in the union movement for some time. The idea of independent political action is also being taken up in the Black movement. The National Black Independent Political Party is holding its founding congress in Chicago August 21-23.

Breaking with the Democrats and Republicans is an idea that should be discussed as part of building for September 19 in the various local, regional, and national gatherings of unions and other groups.

These broad coalitions for September 19 need to discuss building the massive solidarity actions desperately needed on many fronts. They're needed to stop Congress from killing the Voting Rights Act. To push through the Equal Rights Amendment. They're needed in cities and towns across the country whenever bosses try to shut down plants, cops break up picket lines, or residents are threatened with radioactive waste.

September 19 can be the beginning of a real fightback against the Reagan administration. The broad sponsorship achieved so far should be greatly expanded. Antiwar groups and organizations in solidarity with Central America should join in building this action.

The National Black Independent Political Party and National Black United Front should bring their members to Washington.

Farmers organizations, campus groups, senior citizens organizations, and all the groups on the left should be there too.

Since Reagan's election, hundreds of thousands have already taken to the streets, marching for Black rights, against war, against the budget cuts. Now on September 19 these protesters and many thousands more can unite in a giant display of the social and political power of the majority in this country.

All out for September 19!

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11-18 International Socialist Review



### Reagan's new pitch on El Salvador

Washington now claims to be fostering 'free elections' in El Salvador. But facts show that free elections are impossible as long as junta rules. And Washington is stepping up its military intervention to keep junta in power. Page 25.

## The Militant

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# Groundswell of support for Sept. 19 AFL-CIO march

By Vivian Sahner

There has been a massive response to the AFL-CIO's call for a September 19 "Solidarity Day" in Washington, D.C.

Since the action was announced seven weeks ago, union after union has pledged an all-out effort. So have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Urban League, National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Operation PUSH, National Council of Churches, League of United Latin American Citizens, and others.

"It is time to stand up and stop the dismantling of forty years of social progress," declared Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers and one of the action's coordinators.

Calling Solidarity Day "an important part of what must be a continuing campaign by labor and our allies," McBride urged all USWA locals to mobilize their members.

A prominent ad on the back cover of the July *Solidarity*, the United Auto Workers paper, says: "Join us in a national day of protest."

"It will be the biggest, most crucial march on Washington, D.C. in over a decade—and you can help make it a success!"

"President Doug Fraser has called for 'all-out' UAW participation in the Sept. 19 rally and march."

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37 in New York City has already announced plans to send 300 buses to the demonstration.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers of America has pledged 100 busloads.

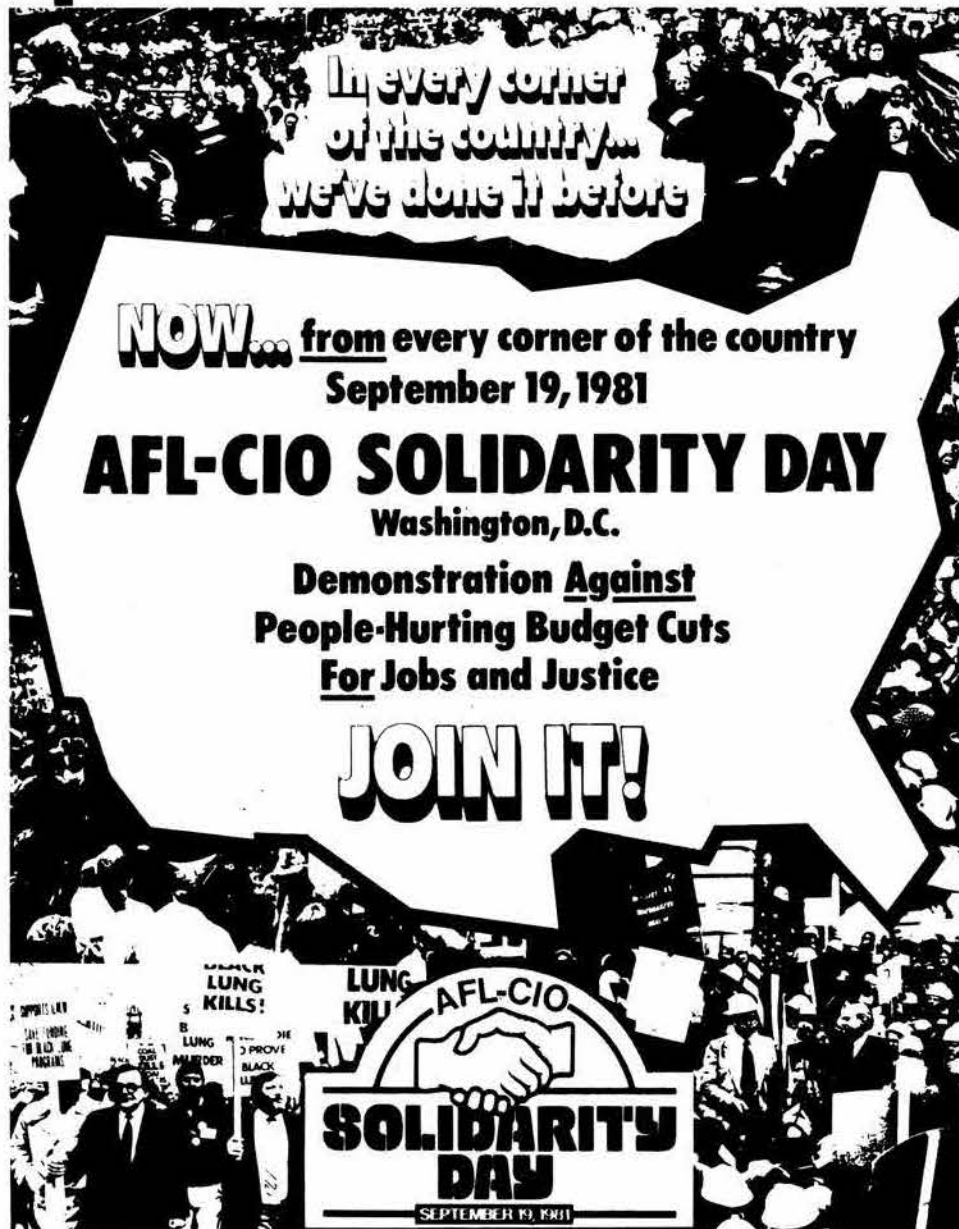
## Miners' support

The United Mine Workers has endorsed the action. Sam Church, president of the UMWA, has joined the thirty-three-member Solidarity Day advisory committee headed by AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue.

Half the members of that body, organized to mobilize participation on September 19, is made up of the heads of the largest AFL-CIO unions. The balance includes figures such as Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP; Coretta King; Rev. Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; Rev. Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH; and Douglas Tuthill, chair of the U.S. Students Association.

Delegates to the seventy-second national convention of the NAACP, held in Denver June 29-July 3, enthusiastically endorsed a Solidarity Day resolution. This is the first time since the 1963 March on Washington that the NAACP has called for a protest in the country's capital.

Benjamin Hooks told the convention that the demonstration is needed to "show the dissatisfaction of workers and minority members alike" with the Reagan administration's budget.



"The NAACP shares a common humanity with the workers of the AFL-CIO and the basic goals and objectives that will be brought to the fore by this joint demonstration," he said.

The NAACP urged its 2,200 chapters to participate in the "historic demonstration" for "jobs, justice and equity for every American."

On July 7, delegates at the Operation PUSH convention voted to back the action.

"The first thing that Black, Brown, poor, and concerned Americans must do" to fight Reagan's budget slashes, Rev. Jesse Jackson said, "is to get the president's attention with their marching feet."

On July 21 the National Urban League endorsed Solidarity Day.

## 'Feminist turnout'

Another major focus of the September 19 march is support for the Equal Rights Amendment. On June 30, AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Donahue urged ERA supporters at the Washington, D.C., ERA Countdown rally to participate in Solidarity Day.

"We expect to see a solid feminist turnout for 'Solidarity Day,'" commented NOW President Eleanor Smeal in the July/August *National NOW Times*. "Those of us who fight for women's

equality and those of us in the labor movement have come to understand that we share many of the same goals and fight the same opposition."

Solidarity Day has been the center of discussion in trade union conventions held over the past few weeks.

Delegates of the 580,000-member American Federation of Teachers pledged their unanimous support at their sixty-fifth convention in Denver in early July. A table to sign up for the action did a brisk business.

The 1.8 million-member National Education Association has also voted to endorse. A resolution of support was passed by the 7,200 delegates to the NEA convention in Minneapolis. The body also called for a nationwide teachers demonstration against the cutbacks.

The 235 delegates at the Newspaper Guild Convention in Memphis pledged support.

At the Communications Workers of America convention, union President Glenn Watts blasted the Reagan administration's goal "to run a government of the corporation, by the corporation, and for the corporation."

## 'Broadest participation'

United Electrical Workers Secretary-treasurer Boris Block has called for the "broadest possible participation." The

UE convention, to be held in Pittsburgh, will adjourn September 18. The union is making arrangements to send the delegates to Washington the next day.

Fred Kroll, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, sent out a letter to the BRAC membership urging participation.

The International Association of Machinists has also put their numbers behind Solidarity Day. "We don't believe these are really budget cuts," one IAM spokesperson explained. "They're a transfer of money from social services to the military services."

In Steelworkers District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, outgoing director Jim Balanoff and incoming director Jack Parton joined together in vowing to put the district's resources into building a big turnout for Solidarity Day (see story on page 6).

In order to maximize the largest trade union participation, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has called a coordinating meeting of the federation's general board in Chicago on August 6. The general board is made up of the president or chief officer of each of the 102 AFL-CIO unions.

## Area coalitions

In a number of areas coalitions to build the demonstration have already formed.

The Texas AFL-CIO, the Texas chapter of the NAACP, and the League of United Latin American Citizens are jointly chartering buses to Washington.

In Baltimore every one of the 300 buses from union organized companies is already chartered to go. Union officials predict that 100,000 marchers from that city will join in September 19.

The New York City Central Labor Council is making plans for an August 7 Labor Day Parade to build Solidarity Day.

In Seattle IAM District 751 voted unanimously to spend \$60,000 toward the expenses of union members going to Washington. Labor leaders have reserved four Boeing 747's to take marchers to the demonstration.

Thirty state labor officials in Minnesota have chartered buses and two planes. The Minnesota NAACP has organized a bus. The Minnesota El Salvador Solidarity Committee has decided to make September 19 its first priority.

In Indianapolis the Central Labor Council has printed 10,000 leaflets on Solidarity Day. UAW Region 3 has chartered fifteen buses. The Committee for Democracy in Latin America there has endorsed the action.

In Los Angeles a broad coalition has made tentative plans for a Solidarity Day action on September 19 in MacArthur Park in Los Angeles.

Groups participating in the organization of that rally include the California American Civil Liberties union, People's Antiwar Mobilization, NOW, UAW, California Teachers, NAACP, Urban League, and others. Planning meetings are being held at the AFL-CIO facilities in Los Angeles.

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## OCAW candidate: Mobilize against big oil

By John Cannon

Tony Mazzocchi, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) health and safety director, is challenging incumbent Robert Goss in an important election for the presidency of OCAW at its international convention August 10-14 in Denver.

Mazzocchi is raising issues—from an assessment of the strategy followed in the union's 1980 strike against the oil giants to a call for a public debate about the two-party domination of the American political system—that will have important repercussions throughout the entire labor movement.

In a letter to OCAW members, Mazzocchi describes labor's situation: "Inflation is soaring. Plant shutdowns are throwing thousands out of work. And working people are gripped by insecurities and personal tragedies not seen since the Great Depression.

"Many of the top leaders of the labor movement have forgotten where they came from, and behave more like corporate executives than representatives of working people. They are primarily concerned with preserving their jobs, their inflated salaries and their status. As a consequence, the labor movement has become paralyzed. It has lost the necessary momentum, energy and ability to deal with the attacks being made on our unions, our jobs and our living standards."

OCAW faced a major assault by the oil barons in the beginning of 1980. Over 50,000 refinery workers were forced to strike from three to five months demanding a wage increase, fully-paid medical benefits, and improved vacation schedules.

Mazzocchi criticizes what he terms the "picket line strategy" employed in the strike.

*John Cannon works at Shell Oil's refinery in Deer Park, Texas. He is a member of Local 4-367 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.*

He points out, "The realities of bargaining in the 1980's demand up-to-date approaches. Larger picket lines and longer strikes are not the solution. Industry must learn that we are prepared to fully mobilize our union, our brothers and sisters in other unions, as well as the public at-large in support of our demands."

The course of the 1980 strike confirms this view. Only after a series of solidarity demonstrations around the country, including a one-day shutdown of the Los Angeles harbor by a coalition of harbor unions, did the oil companies increase their offer. The final settlement included a 10.5 percent wage increase per year, increased company payments for medical insurance, and a dental plan. The oil companies continued their anti-union offensive after the strike.

As Mazzocchi states, "we can expect to see more of our oil groups pushed off the common termination date as so many were in the last round of negotiations. We can expect to see additional attempts to chisel away at our marketing and clerical groups, at start rates and craft lines."

The oil giants are already beginning to prepare for the January 1982 contract negotiations. They want OCAW to make major concessions like workers in auto, steel, and rail have been forced to make this past spring.

The oil barons are crying about low profits due to the "oil glut"—that is, "overproduction" of gasoline stocks. In May, for example, refineries were operating at less than 70 percent capacity. This has led six major energy trusts since March 1 to announce whole or partial refinery shutdowns. Since its 1979 convention, OCAW has lost several thousand members due to shutdowns.

The oil companies have also begun pushing various schemes to squeeze more profit from oil workers and to further weaken their union. These include introducing a shift schedule based on a

twelve-hour work day that averages out to a forty-two-hour work week. In some cases, this involves a reduction in base pay. Another plan involves forcing workers in operations to perform maintenance work, eventually leading to a reduction in the work force.

Two of the most serious problems facing OCAW members today are how to stop these layoffs and refinery closings. Mazzocchi notes that "we can expect that shutdowns will hit one out of seven of our members during the decade of the '80s. The trend is not only continuing, it is getting worse."

To deal with these problems, Mazzocchi declares, "I'm for being in the streets on a perpetual basis."

In contrast, OCAW President Robert Goss asserts that the union and the labor movement are in relatively good shape and that the methods advocated by Mazzocchi are unnecessary.

In 1979, Goss defeated Mazzocchi by 83,000 votes to 80,000. The current race

is receiving national attention from the media and the labor movement.

Mazzocchi has raised questions faced by every major union in the U.S., and has offered some answers. Most significant is his proposal that labor "seriously discuss with poor people, Blacks and perhaps farmers the idea of forming a national labor political party." In a speech given in New Jersey last year, he stated, "If we run candidates who are the products of the labor movement, speaking for the labor movement, we can dispel the nonsense of every single Republican and Democrat who says 'I represent the entire community.'"

"I don't want an individual who represents the entire community. I want someone who represents us, period."

Such statements indicate that a Mazzocchi victory could help advance the discussion in the labor movement about developing a fighting strategy to halt the employer/government offensive against working people.

## Patterson and Balanoff at Mazzocchi fundraiser

By Jon Hillson

HAMMOND, Indiana—Campaigning against an incumbent's \$100,000-a-week effort to thwart his bid for the presidency of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, Tony Mazzocchi told supporters here that his victory would not only be important for members of OCAW, "but for those in the Steelworkers and in other unions who want to bring about fundamental change."

District 31 director Jim Balanoff, Subdistrict 1 director Ed Sadlowski, and Canadian District 6 director-elect Dave Patterson were among the Steelworker figures who joined members and officials of OCAW here July 11 at a Mazzocchi fundraiser.

Citing the mobilization against him of most of OCAW's staff, all eight of the union's district directors, and the powers of incumbent president Robert Goss, Mazzocchi declared, "I know how the game works because I was vice-president of this union."

Currently health and safety director, Mazzocchi narrowly lost to Goss in the presidential race two years ago.

He said his campaign was being supported by OCAW members, other unionists, and progressives "who want to see a reinvigorated labor movement, who want to have leaderships that aren't mummified and a union movement that will be able to lead the American people and create a just America."

Mazzocchi pointed to a "political situation" that is "on the brink of being desperate." Blasting the "resurgence of

racism and the Ku Klux Klan," he told the workers that the Klan, the Moral Majority, and the right wing have placed the "trade union movement high up on the agenda for destruction."

"It's about time the labor movement took a more decisive stand in mobilizing against this kind of reactionary development," he said.

Addressing the political crisis working people face was at the center of Mazzocchi's brief speech.

A legislative director of OCAW for twelve years, he slammed politicians who "ask us for support and help around election time and then the day after the election forgot who we were." Today, these Democrats and Republicans are, Mazzocchi said, "stumbling upon each other to see who can really rape the labor movement and the poor and the dispossessed in this country."

His solution? "It's time for working people to have their own political party in this country," Mazzocchi said to the longest, loudest applause of the night.

"Go out and beat the bushes, make sure you talk to all your pals," Ed Sadlowski said to the OCAW workers, to get "your [OCAW convention delegates] to cast their vote in the right direction."

Mazzocchi's election would help the main force that can turn the country around, Sadlowski said. That's a "strong, free, democratic trade union movement."

The OCAW convention, which elects international officers, begins August 10 in Denver.

## N.Y. action protests cuts in arts funding

By Michael Friedman

NEW YORK—On Saturday, July 18, between one and two thousand people demonstrated at Lincoln Center here against President Reagan's proposed cutback in funding for the National Endowment for the Arts. Organized by the American Coalition to Support the Arts, the protest was endorsed by more than 700 organizations and prominent individuals, including the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Museo del Barrio, United Auto Workers Local 259, UAW District 65, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union District 1199, New York Central Trades and Labor Council, National Black Theater, American Ballet Theater, and the Museum of Modern Art, to name a few.

The National Endowment for the Arts is an independent federal agency created "to make the arts more widely available, strengthen cultural organizations, preserve our cultural heritage, and help develop the nation's finest creative talent." In its fifteen years of existence, the agency has helped to establish numerous theaters, orchestras, opera and dance companies, and non-profit galleries, and many small theaters, music groups, and art and literature programs. It has provided opportunities for

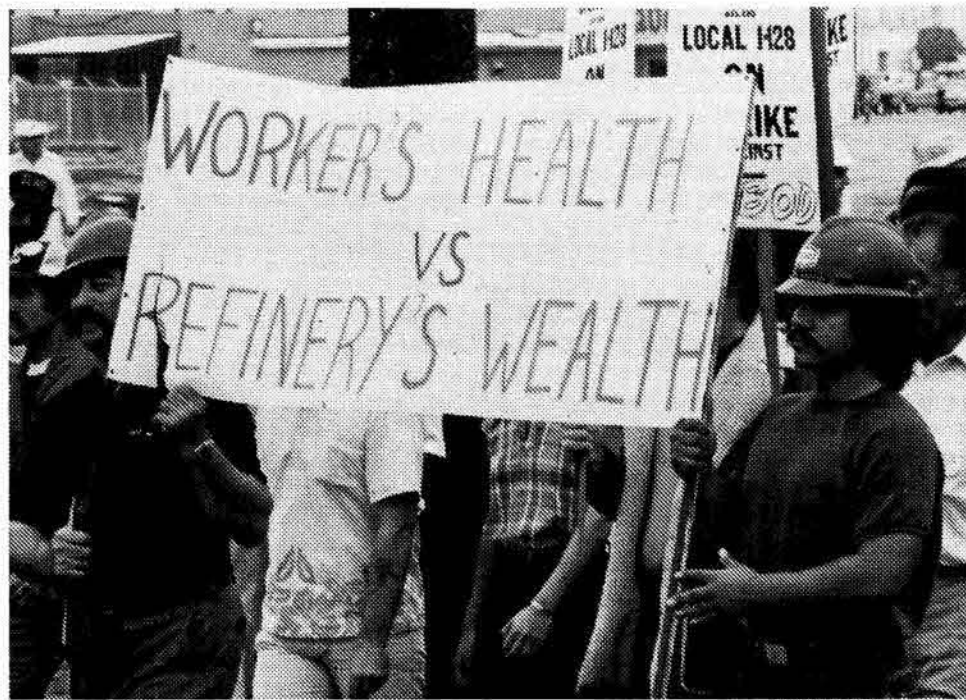
Black, Latin, American Indian, and Asian-American artists to pursue careers in the arts and to receive some public recognition. It has also funded free concerts, exhibitions, and performances that millions of Americans have enjoyed.

President Reagan intends to cut half the proposed 1982 budget of the National Endowment for the Arts—from \$175 million to \$88 million. At the same time, the administration has proposed a \$89.2 million budget for military bands!

Many of the rally speakers tied the cutbacks to the rising military budget. As actor Tony Randall pointed out, "There is an inconsistency implicit in raising the military budget" while cutting the already meager funding for the arts.

As with cutbacks in health care, Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) jobs, Social Security, and other social programs, those who can least afford it would be hardest hit. Newer, smaller, innovative groups would be eliminated. "Expansion Arts," which offers free music, theater, dance, and art, would be the first programs to go. Groups and organizations such as the Jazzmobile, Ballet Hispanico of New York, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation Center for Art and Culture, the Gallery of the American Indian Community House, and the Harlem School of the Arts would be decimated.

*Michael Friedman is a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100.*



Los Angeles demonstration in support of 1980 strike of oil workers. OCAW presidential candidate Mazzocchi says mobilizations like this are needed to win future strikes.



# Ottawa summit: rulers agree to disagree

When the heads of state of the seven most powerful imperialist countries opened their three-day summit meeting near Ottawa, Canada, on July 20, they were deeply divided on economic, trade, and political questions.

The conference, attended by the chief executives of the United States, Britain, Canada, West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan, was marked by what one official described as "sometimes brutal discussions." When it was over on July 22, the participants issued a very general communique that attempted to skirt their differences.

Among these differences were conflicting attitudes toward economic policy, toward trade with the Soviet Union, and toward military spending and arms negotiations.

All the countries represented in Ottawa face severe economic problems, characterized by stagnant industrial production, rising unemployment, high interest rates, and high inflation.

West German Chancellor Schmidt and French President François Mitterrand, both Social Democratic heads of state, led the opposition to U.S. economic policies. Schmidt and Mitterrand argued that the maintenance of high U.S. interest rates had led to a flow of capital from European currencies into the U.S. dollar.

As a result, European governments and central banks have been forced to drive up interest rates in their own countries. This threatens to worsen the



Reagan takes West German Chancellor Schmidt for ride in Ottawa. Schmidt complained high U.S. interest rates were forcing rates in West Germany higher than at any time 'since birth of Christ.'

recession that is gripping capitalist Europe.

Schmidt complained that the present real interest rate in West Germany—the difference between the interest charged and the rate of inflation—is higher than at any time "since the birth of Christ."

Mitterrand warned that a continuation of high U.S. interest rates would lead to increased unemployment in Europe. And in a veiled reference to the recent rebellions in numerous British cities, he pointed to the possibilities of serious social upheavals.

But despite the pressure from

Schmidt and Mitterrand, Washington refused to budge one iota from its monetary policy.

At the same time, Reagan was unable to make any progress in pressuring the West European participants to restrict trade with the Soviet Union. And the section in the official communique on the need for the imperialist countries to boost their arms spending was accompanied by the inclusion of strong calls for arms limitation talks with the USSR.

The scope of the economic problems facing the major capitalist powers can best be seen in Britain, where Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party government has been carrying out policies similar to those proposed by Reagan.

Since Thatcher's government took office in May 1979, the number of jobless in Britain has more than doubled. In fact, while the summit meeting was in session, the British government announced that the unemployment rate had risen to 11.8 percent of the work force.

As the conference ended, the heads of state present went off in their own directions, and not just geographically. The summit registered the fact that under the impact of the worldwide capitalist crisis, each of the capitalist governments is pushing policies aimed at protecting the specific interests of its own capitalists. The results indicate a period of growing inter-imperialist competition and disunity.

## Toledo SWP nominee hits city layoffs, cuts

By Dean Elder

TOLEDO—New layoffs of city workers here are strongly opposed by Kurt Landefeld, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.

On July 17, 262 municipal workers lost their jobs: added victims of an "austerity" program that will close all city parks, empty the swimming pools, and pile garbage on the streets.

In an attempt to blackmail Toledoans, the city council announced these new cutbacks the day after voters rejected a proposed payroll tax increase. The measure would have increased the payroll income tax from 1.5 percent to 2 percent.

The new cuts come as the culmination of efforts by Republicans and Democrats to "balance" the city budget by slashing \$15.7 million out of it at the expense of the working people. At a July 18 campaign rally, socialist Landefeld pointed out that one of the biggest chunks in the city budget is debt payments, plus generous interest, to the banks.

"If Toledo Trust and the other banks are really so interested in preserving Toledo, they would take a new look at their loans to the city and all they've made on them over the years. I'm for forgiving the debt altogether. After all, in hard times we have to pull together, don't we?"

Speaking at the socialist rally with Landefeld was Sue Skinner, SWP candidate for city council. She argued that Toledo's working people would be in a much better position if they had their own representatives in city hall.

"Suppose," she said, "the city council had a majority of workers instead of representatives of the business interests. Let's say a sanitation worker, a truck driver, a secretary, a couple of factory workers, some unemployed workers, a waitress, and an oil worker. 'Do you think we'd come up with a plan to blackmail ourselves? We'd be crazy to do that. Instead of renegotiating the city workers' contract, we'd press for a moratorium on loan payments to the banks.'"

The present city council, headed by Democratic Mayor Doug DeGood, is doing just the opposite. They are demanding more concessions from city unions. In a virtual declaration of war against the unions, DeGood has demanded that they surrender cost-of-living and longevity pay increases. If they refuse, DeGood has threatened to put a charter amendment on the November ballot that would, if passed, eliminate those benefits from any future contracts.

The latest round of city layoffs brings the total to over a thousand, a cut of more than a quarter of the

municipal work force since 1979.

The entire parks and recreation department has been eliminated, bringing an end to all city park services.

With more than a third of the refuse workers laid off, garbage will be collected only every other week.

All health department programs, except those mandated by the state, have been scrapped.

City pools have been closed all summer. Initially, fifty sprinklers were attached to fire hydrants. A week later, the city manager ordered them removed and police began arresting people who opened the hydrants.

The city zoo is slated to close September 30, even though voters passed a levy for additional funds last November.

With interest on city notes being pushed up, Landefeld declared, "I think the baseball players have a good idea. They're demanding that the owners open their books and let everybody have a peek at exactly how much money they're making. This is a good idea for Toledo, too. The bankers should open their books so we can see how much they're making on our interest payments."

Landefeld said he favored dealing with the city's financial problem by taxing those who could well-afford to pay. For example, he noted, the Owens-

Illinois Company, which led the campaign for the payroll tax hike; just announced record second quarter profits of \$49.2 million. Just a fraction of that profit would cover the city's deficit.

In her discussion of why working people should control the city administration, Sue Skinner pointed out that this is no longer considered such a far-fetched idea.

"A number of unionists are talking about a new political party, joining together all the unions into a labor party," she explained. "Such a party could effectively oppose the Republicans and Democrats."

"One person who is campaigning for a labor party is Tony Mazzocchi. Mazzocchi is running for president of my union, the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers. I agree with Mazzocchi. He says the labor movement should run 'candidates who are products of the labor movement,' instead of electing Democrats and Republicans who say they represent the entire community. 'I don't want an individual who represents the entire community. I want someone who represents us, period!'"

Landefeld and Skinner filed over 3,700 signatures to get on the ballot. Landefeld noted, "Most all those signatures were from Toledo voters who were tired of being held hostage by city hall!"

## Detroit gov't imposing pay freeze on workers

By Bill Arth

DETROIT—City workers here appear to be on their way to approving a two-year pay freeze.

The freeze forces city workers organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to give up four raises of 3 percent each over the next two years. They had won these raises in a militant strike last summer.

AFSCME members had rejected a similar proposal by an overwhelming margin two weeks earlier. Only one of sixteen locals had approved the earlier proposal. The latest proposal has won by

a slim margin in six locals so far.

The new freeze contains a few "sweeteners": an extra twenty paid days off over the next two years, a "guarantee" against layoffs for two years, and changes in the city's absentee control program. In addition, the city has suspended 597 layoffs scheduled for August.

This major defeat for city workers was prepared by a coordinated attack on Detroit's working class, led by the city's corporations in collaboration with "friend-of-labor" Mayor Coleman Young.

The first step in this attack was a referendum on June 23 to increase the city income tax. The tax increase was linked to imposing wage restraints on city workers.

Mayor Young led a campaign to pass the tax increase by claiming it was the only way to save the city from "the racists." Mayor Young was able to pull significant portions of the union bureaucracy, including the United Auto Workers leadership, into supporting this swindle, thus preparing the defeat for city workers.

AFSCME's leadership opposed the referendum, but failed to organize an effective campaign against it. In fact, AFSCME's chief bargainer, Lloyd Simp-

son, broke ranks on the eve of the vote "as an individual" and called for a yes vote on the referendum.

Even with the leadership determined to give up without a fight, city workers defiantly rejected the first sellout negotiated by their bargainers. But in the absence of any leadership, and with layoffs hanging over their heads, they have now given in.

The focus of the battle now shifts to city bus drivers organized in the Amalgamated Transit Union. The city has announced that this union is next in line in its drive to trample on the terms of the contracts that have been negotiated with city workers.



# Steelworkers District 31 backs Sept. 19

By Jon Hillson

MERRILLVILLE, Ind.—A thousand steelworkers at the annual conference of United Steelworkers District 31 cheered a proposal to support the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C.

The protest against cutbacks and for jobs and justice has been called by the AFL-CIO and backed by the NAACP and Operation PUSH.

"It will be my goal," newly-elected District Director Jack Parton told delegates representing the USWA's 114,000 members in Illinois and Indiana, "to have the delegation from District 31 be the largest and loudest in the Steelworkers union."

Parton's pledge to mobilize USWA members in the union's biggest district—20,000 of whom have been thrown out of work in the last several years—was interrupted by applause at the July 10 meeting.

Parton termed Solidarity Day a "protest against Reagan's programs of social destruction." He cited congressional approval for the Reagan administration's budget cuts as a "long term change that will hurt each one of us."

Outgoing District Director Jim Balanoff, narrowly defeated by Parton in a bitterly-contested union election on May 28, opened the conference with a call to mobilize on September 19. "In the last seven weeks of my term," Balanoff told delegates, "I intend to do everything possible to guarantee that District 31 sends as many members to Washington as possible."

USWA Legislative Director Jack Sheehan told delegates that September 19 was a "rally of coalition," a coming together of "Blacks, Latinos, environmentalists, educators." He urged the assembled USWA to "go outside the local, outside the Steelworkers, into the community" to build this coalition.

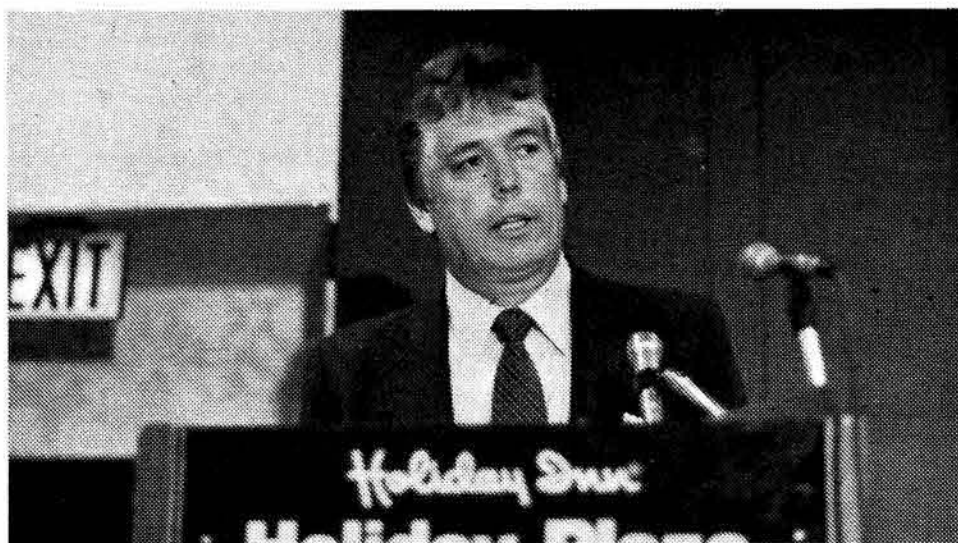
The enthusiasm generated by the call for Solidarity Day reflected a desire to do something against Reaganism, to meet the challenge of mounting attacks.

This conference was different from previous gatherings, where debates over resolutions have been at the center of delegates' attention.

For the past seven years, the administration of District 31 has been in the hands of opponents of the union's top leadership in Pittsburgh. It's been a center of dissent and challenge to the USWA hierarchy and its brand of business unionism.

The Balanoff-Parton election was a confrontation between these two forces, with Parton winning by 4 percent, with about 40 percent of the district's membership voting.

On July 13, the USWA's outside election monitoring board privately heard charges by Balanoff—and counter-



Dave Patterson, newly-elected director of USWA District 6 in Canada, was among speakers at District 31 conference.

## 'Good news' from Patterson

MERRILLVILLE, Ind.—There was good news as well as bad for Steelworkers at the District 31 conference here.

Some of the good news was brought by Dave Patterson, director-elect of Canada's District 6 (the USWA's largest, with 106,000 members).

"In some parts of the world, good things are happening," the thirty-three-year-old president of Local 6500 at Inco told delegates. "Mitterrand in France."

Patterson saluted "three things he's done already, that he's put in motion already."

Mitterrand, Patterson said, has "nationalized the entire banking system in France."

A brief wave of clapping went through the audience.

"The second thing he did was a little bit contrary to Reagan's plans," Patterson said. "He's put a 25 percent surcharge on the hundred thousand richest families in France."

The applause got louder.

"And the final thing that he announced yesterday is the creation of

210,000 jobs to be paid for by that tax surcharge," he continued.

Now, lots of people were clapping—and loudly.

Patterson then talked about Poland.

Scores of delegates, including director-elect Jack Parton, supporters of Jim Balanoff, and some of the most conservative USWA members at the meeting, were wearing Solidarity buttons.

Patterson is a supporter of the Polish workers movement. But, he explained, if you were for them, it meant more than wearing a button.

Because those workers practice solidarity in action. Even when they break the law, "nobody goes to jail there." But, he said, the government arrests strikers and union leaders in Canada, "and they do it here and all over the world."

"It just seems to be the only way to go if you're talking about supporting Poland: you've got to support your brothers and sisters that are doing it here," Patterson said.

Patterson is a leader of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party.

charges by Parton—of misconduct, particularly in regard to Balanoff's claim of lavish illegal financial backing of Parton by USWA international officers. Neither side challenged the election's outcome.

At the District 31 conference, backers of Parton and International President Lloyd McBride had about the same amount of support as the political current headed by Balanoff and his prede-

cessor, Ed Sadlowski.

Most locals, coming out of the intense election campaign, had paid little attention to resolutions. What was going to occupy delegates and guests was the transition in leadership.

This had moments both high and low. The high point was the unity around September 19.

The low point was an effort by Parton backers to block passage of a routine

resolution praising Balanoff as a trade union leader. The hour-long rehash of the campaign ended with the resolution passing.

The gathering unanimously recommended continuation of annual women's conferences, reaffirmed support to affirmative action programs, opposed administration budget cuts, and opposed the attempt to restore congressional witch-hunt committees.

Noteworthy was the near-unanimous passage of resolutions condemning the Baily nuclear power plant in northern Indiana, and the recommendation that locals charter standing women's committees. As a USWA local president, Parton had in the past opposed both positions.

A pro-Parton majority on the conference resolutions committee, however, did urge delegates to reject a resolution calling for the right of USWA members in basic steel to ratify their contracts.

The union's top officialdom opposes this right.

No one spoke in behalf of the resolutions committee recommendation, while several Steelworker leaders, including Local 65 President Alice Peurula and Local 6787 President Dave Wilborn, defended the right to ratify.

The delegates voted by a three-to-two margin to reaffirm the district's longstanding position backing a membership ratification of the contract. The *Hammond Times* headline noted, "Vote Seen as Setback for Parton."

Parton himself pledged to unify the district, noting the closeness of the margin between him and Balanoff and the modest turnout in the election—the "50,000 Steelworkers who didn't vote for anybody."

He was applauded for backing a "district-wide vote to determine District 31's support for the ENA concept." ENA is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, a no-strike pledge that may be renegotiated shortly.

Parton stated his eagerness to "organize the unorganized in District 31 making use of our greatest resource, you, the members, as organizers."

The challenges facing the Parton administration are the same that confront the forces he defeated to win office: charting an action course to mobilize the rank and file to defend the union against the pro-war, pro-Big Business policies of the White House and Congress.

Uniting all Steelworkers here around important actions like Solidarity Day is a test for both camps in the union. By placing their real and ongoing political differences on trade unionism in the context of building September 19 as a unified action, they will set an example of how to debate out issues while strengthening the Steelworkers.

# Steel union leader discusses labor party

By Jon Hillson

MERRILLVILLE, Ind.—"Exec Hints at Labor Party," the *Hammond Times* headline read.

The executive was Frank McKee, international treasurer of the United Steelworkers.

As keynote speaker at the District 31 conference here, he told delegates he'd come to "share a few thoughts with you about politics."

The picture, he said, was bad and it was going to get "even worse."

What's needed, McKee said, is a "broad-based political coalition, yes, a political army" of Reaganism's victims. These are the majority of the people under attack by a bipartisan gang-up in Washington, where the line between Democrats and Republicans is "getting fuzzier and fuzzier."

"It's getting hard," McKee said, "to

tell a friend from a foe, which is which and who is who."

This political army most needs "the total support of the trade union movement, which, unlike fifty years ago, is not weak, powerless [and] impoverished."

"It is now well-established in every city, in virtually every town and hamlet throughout the nation. It has offices, local union lodges, councils, telephones, staff and publications. It has resources and talents at its disposal. Truly, if one were to start building a political machine, he could find it all made up and ready to operate in the trade union movement in America. One would find it ideally suited to give leadership to this new coalition."

McKee lamented unions' inability to turn out their memberships to vote. "Labor's role must change," he said.

The hackneyed argument of labor "re-

warding its friends and punishing its enemies" barely works any more.

The American labor movement is "uniquely different from all others all over the world" because it does not rely on "a political party," McKee said.

Well, that's not totally true.

It relies on a boss-controlled party that is doing to working people just what an employer does to workers in a plant where they don't have their own union: kicks them hard.

"The platforms the [Democratic and Republican] parties adopt are a joke," he said. He asked the delegates if "any group, any coalition [can] trust any of the two major parties?"

This question, McKee said, is "being discussed more and more in the circles of the various constituencies, including organized labor. . . . If there is no party with which this coalition-bloc of the

aged, the poor, the trade unionists and all working people, the minorities, the women, the handicapped can identify with—and since these indeed are a formidable majority—should this bloc not abandon the existing parties and form its own?"

McKee was interrupted by applause.

He put his hand out as if to say, "Now wait a minute." Then he went on. "Even if only to strengthen its bargaining position with the two major parties? That question is being asked."

McKee's answer: "I don't know."

But USWA Vice President for Human Affairs Leon Lynch did. He slapped down the idea of a labor party. "We ought to make the Democratic Party our own labor party and make it sensitive to the needs of people in labor," he lectured the Steelworkers.

Lynch is a member of the Democratic Party National Committee.



# U.S. unions challenge El Salvador policy

The following article (and editor's note) describing opposition in the union movement to Washington's El Salvador policy appeared in the July 1 issue of 'El Salvador Alert,' the monthly newsletter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** U.S. unions, with about twenty million members, are by far the largest and most influential organizations of North American workers. Their potential impact is profound. In Europe, for example, labor unions and labor governments form the basis of West German, Austrian, French and Scandinavian support for El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front. For important sections of the U.S. labor movement to begin taking a positive stand on El Salvador represents a significant development that the Reagan administration cannot afford to ignore.

Labor speak-outs, forums, press conferences, and benefits were held in over 15 major cities in June as trade unionists across the U.S. commemorated the general strike of June 1980 and expressed their firm solidarity with the working people of El Salvador.

At educational forums in Chicago, New York, Seattle, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Olympia, Portland, Salem, and Eugene, U.S. unionists showed keen interest in learning about the labor movement in El Salvador and building labor solidarity here. In Seattle, for example, over 500 unionists from dozens of unions gave a rousing reception to Salvadorean union leaders Fernando Beltran and Rosa Rivers and unanimously passed a resolution pledging to continue to press their unions for support of the people's struggle in El Salvador. Beltran also addressed the Committee for Justice for Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo—two progressive Filipino union leaders recently assassinated in Seattle shortly after they had won union elections. "That's how it began in El Salvador," explained Beltran to the committee.

Labor speak-outs were also held in Detroit, MI and Lynn, MA, in which representatives of many unions expressed their solidarity. In Detroit, Martin Gerber, International Vice-President of the United Auto Workers (UAW), read a



Militant/Tom Kilpatrick

statement of support. Similar speak-outs are planned for July in Los Angeles, Indianapolis, and Washington, DC; the latter two are strongly backed by Region 3 of the UAW and the DC Central Labor Council respectively.

At press conferences in Dallas, San Antonio, and San Jose, union leaders read statements denouncing U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

In San Francisco, Trade Unionists in Solidarity with El Salvador (TUSES) placed a full-page ad in two Bay Area newspapers. The ad, an Open Letter to President Reagan against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, was signed by 800 union members, including 40 union local presidents. TUSES also held a benefit dance for the trade unions in El Salvador, which raised several thousand dollars.

In Boston, a five-hour regional labor conference was held against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador. Trade union activists from throughout New England gathered to organize for education and solidarity work.

The Political Action Committee of American Federation of State, County,

and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37 sponsored the New York event; DC 37 has also helped by printing leaflets, organizing internal education on El Salvador, and chartering buses for demonstrations.

International Association of Machinists (IAM) District Council 10 in Wisconsin sent a letter to affiliates urging them to schedule El Salvador slide presentations at their membership meetings. Locals in San Francisco bought blocks of tickets for the benefit dance and made contributions to help pay for the Open Letter ad.

Events in Massachusetts were sponsored by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) locals and endorsed by UAW District 65 and International United Electrical workers (UE) Local 201, a 10,000 member defense plant local which recently passed a resolution against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Labor activists attributed the success of the June campaign to the labor outreach that has been done over the past

year and to the readiness of the U.S. labor movement to oppose the Reagan administration's anti-labor policies abroad.

So far at least 100 union locals have officially opposed U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Pressure to do the same has begun to filter up the AFL-CIO hierarchy. At Alert! presstime, ten AFL-CIO labor councils were known to have adopted resolutions against U.S. intervention: Baltimore, Minneapolis, San Antonio; Bellingham and Thurston-Lewis, WA; and Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Sacramento, Alameda, and Marin, CA.

Many internationals have also expressed some form of opposition to military intervention, including the SEIU, AFSCME, IAM, UE, Graphic Arts International Union (GAIU), International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), International Woodworkers of America (IWA), and United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The national AFL-CIO, under strong pressure, is reportedly reconsidering its support for U.S. policy in El Salvador, at least regarding U.S. military presence there. In another development, the AFL-CIO changed the bylaws of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) so that only labor representatives will be allowed to sit on the AIFLD board of directors. The AFL-CIO had previously received a great deal of criticism for allowing representatives of large corporations to sit on the AIFLD board.

The AFL-CIO has not withdrawn its support for the land reform program in El Salvador, although according to statistics in the Washington Post, more farmworkers have been assassinated that have received title to land.

Trade union and CISPES labor committees across the country are continuing their drive to stop U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The achievements of solidarity work in the labor movement have been impressive, but as the struggle of the Salvadorean people intensifies, we in the U.S. must also intensify our efforts.

If you are interested in raising the issue of El Salvador in your union, contact your local or regional CISPES committee.

## USWA's Olszanski addresses antinuke rally

CHICAGO—Some 750 people rallied July 19 in a muddy and wet Grant Park to demand "No Nukes." The crowd was kept down somewhat by overcast skies and rain forecasts which came true in a downpour toward the end of the rally.

The demonstration was organized by Students Against Nuclear Power.

Sponsors included Jim Balanoff, director, United Steelworkers of America District 31; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Gerald Hawkins, United Mine Workers of America District 12, Illinois; Charles Williams, Grand Lodge representative, International Association of Machinists; the NAACP; Operation PUSH; the American Friends Service Committee; Clergy and Laity Concerned; Peoples Anti-War Mobilization; Young Socialist Alliance; Vets for Peace; and several environmental organizations.

One of the best received speakers was Mike Olszanski, who is a member of the executive board and heads the environmental committee of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel. With 18,000 members, Local 1010 is the biggest local in the USWA.

Following are excerpts from Olszanski's remarks.

\* \* \*

Brothers and sisters, Greetings and solidarity from the 110,000 Steelworkers of Chicago and Northwest Indiana United Steelworkers of America District 31. At its annual conference a week ago, District 31 reaffirmed its solid support for solar and renewable energy and its commitment to halt nuclear power development.

Like many of you, I didn't think too much about nuclear power one way or another until they started building Bailey I in my backyard. My local union, Local 1010, went on record against Bailey I in 1976. We didn't like the location. Too close to people.

We soon found out that not only would this plant be dangerous, it was going to cost a fortune. Our rates went up, again and again. We found out that nuclear power is the most expensive way to generate electricity.

Being capital intensive, nuclear power produces few jobs for the money invested. Solar heating and insulation programs produce two and a half times as many jobs.

Most people are starting to learn the facts about nuclear power. People are generally asking: Why not coal? Why not solar? Why not wind? Why not biomass? Why not efficiency? Why not cogeneration?

The answer is all too obvious. American capitalism has made, is making, stands to make a fortune in nuclear power.

The military also needs the program to make plutonium for the bomb. American capitalism and the military have controlled every U.S. government since Eisenhower, at least.

So while rallies like this can build solidarity and consciousness, we are not going to stop nuclear power or limit nuclear weapons. Or put Americans to work building mass transit systems and good housing and rebuilding the cities until we get control of our own government.

How?

I believe that the Democratic and Republican parties are both owned by big business. Democrats as well as Republicans stifle solar and wind power and escalate nuclear power, nuclear weapons development, unemployment, recession, poverty, the deterioration of our cities—all in the name of profits. And where is it written, "Thou shalt not deny the capitalist his superprofits"?

We working class people have got to have our own party. William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, says so. Other labor leaders think so but don't have the

guts enough to say so.

I submit to you that it's time, high time, for a party of the poor, the minorities, the environmentalists, the organized, and those who need to be organized. It's time for a labor party.

If your experiences so far in the fight against nuclear power haven't led you to this conclusion yet, just wait. It's going to get worse. The capitalists are determined to get more and more out of us. They will build the nukes and bombs whether we like it or not and laugh all the way to the bank.

Unless we get some new working class leadership elected in the country. Some leadership like Eugene Debs, who said, "I shall rise not from the ranks but with the ranks."

It won't be easy. But this generation of Americans has got to change America. Change it radically, or there won't be an America worth saving. On September 19 union people, environmentalists, the old, the poor, and minorities will march on Washington and say no to Reagan's program of union busting, cuts in social services, the gutting of health, safety, and environmental regulations.

Let's make Solidarity Day, September 19, the start of a political movement to take back this country for the people who built it.



# Socialist Soares challenges Ku Klux Klan

By Suzanne Haig

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Many people here have heard about Betsy Soares, a welder at Bahnson Company and a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 641. She's the Socialist Workers Party nominee for mayor.

They know she's the only one so far to come out and run against the Ku Klux Klan candidate, Joe Grady, who's running on the Republican Party ticket.

On November 3, 1979, in nearby Greensboro, Klan and Nazi members murdered five civil rights workers, members of the Communist Workers Party, in cold blood. Some of the killers were indicted, but they were later acquitted and walked away free.

The Klan has become more emboldened. Now they're running for mayor.

The Republican Party has refused to repudiate Grady, who is running in their primary.

Previously, Grady was a Democrat. That party, too, has remained silent about the Klan candidate.

Maybe the reason these parties have not repudiated Grady is that they make compatible bedfellows.

A Greensboro paper reports that Ku Klux Klan chapters in three Georgia cities disbanded because the Reagan administration "has taken over where we're going to leave off," in the words of a Klan recruiter.

The Klan is on record opposing desegregation, busing, affirmative action, and for slashing spending for social needs.



BETSY SOARES

That platform bears a strong resemblance to what both the Republicans and the Democrats are out to do.

Grady may not be the only Klan candidate. Jerry Paul Smith says he plans to run for sheriff of Lincoln County, where he runs a commando training camp. Last fall he was acquitted in the Greensboro murders.

State Klan leader Virgil Griffin says he will run for governor in 1984. Griffin was there when the five were

shot, but was never indicted.

It's no accident that the Democrats and Republicans are reluctant to take on the Klan candidate. This is in line with their failure to prevent illegal Klan terrorism.

The police were strangely absent when the Klan and Nazis moved in and murdered the five CWP members. The Democratic and Republican officials are responsible for the failure to apprehend all those responsible for the murders, and the failure to adequately prosecute those they did indict.

In contrast to the Democrats and Republicans, Soares spoke out against KKKer Grady at a news conference on the courthouse square in April. She said:

"The announcement of Joe Grady's campaign poses a grave danger for the labor movement in Winston-Salem. Grady claims to represent the 'working man,' while historically the Klan has actively opposed the real interests of workers."

Grady had told the media that "the working class man should be able to control his own destiny." He said the city was controlled by wealthy whites and "East Winston Black Panthers."

### 'Klan opposes unions'

"The Klan stands opposed to unions and organizing the unorganized," Soares said. "They are opposed to the interests of Blacks and women and affirmative-action programs. They are an enemy of all white and Black workers and have been used over the years to divide them."

Soares went on to charge that Grady's platform "represents basically the same policies being implemented by Democrats and Republicans. The antilabor, anti-Black, and anti-woman policies of these two parties create a climate in which avowed racist groups like the KKK can develop."

"Working people need our own organizations. We need to make Winston-Salem a union town and run our own candidates on a labor party ticket."

### Klan letters

After Soares received letters from the Klan, including threats against the city's three Black aldermen, she held a well-publicized news conference in front of the Republican Party headquarters.

She demanded that the Republican Party stop its candidate, Joe Grady, from harassing her campaign and called on Mayor Wayne Corpening to speak out against the threats made against the Black elected officials in the city.

The socialist candidate has assailed state and city election laws that restrict the right of working people to organize independently of the two parties of the rich—at the same time racists like Grady are free to run in either party.

A new state law says that voters who sign for a party to get on the ballot become members of that party. Its purpose is to keep parties posing a real alternative to the two big-business parties off the ballot.

Under a city law the SWP will have

## Winston-Salem a 'town of two classes': rich

By Suzanne Haig

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—This city of 130,000 is one of a triad of cities that includes High Point and Greensboro, in an industrialized part of North Carolina known as the Piedmont.

Some people say the city has only two classes: the rich and the poor—the owners of industry and those who work for them. A few rich families control much of the industry here.

High Point is where the furniture factories are. In Greensboro, it's mostly textile. They say the city of Winston-Salem practically belongs to the R.J. Reynolds family. Their tobacco plants are right in the middle of town, as you can easily tell when a hot summer wind blows the smell through the city streets.

People here call their foreman "boss man," a good name for this modern-day plantation overseer of Black and white workers who labor for dirt-cheap wages.

The employers like to say the reason wages are so low is because the cost of living in the South is so much cheaper.

This is a lie.

Meryl Farber works at Gilbarco, Inc., a subsidiary of Exxon. Located in Greensboro, it's organized by the Teamsters.

Not long ago, an article from a Fort Wayne, Indiana, newspaper was passed around the plant. It reported that workers in a plant there making the same thing as Gilbarco, gas pumps, made \$10 an hour, with a cost-of-living adjustment clause in their United Auto Workers union contract.

The Gilbarco workers were stunned. They make only \$6.20 an hour, on average, with no cost of living.

In Fort Wayne, government figures say, the cost of living is almost exactly the same as in North Carolina.

One of the big reasons for the low wages and poor working conditions is "right to work" laws, outlawing the

union shop. For the corporations, this translates into "right to make super-profits" from cheap labor.

### Discrimination in wages

Women and Blacks get hit the hardest. North Carolina has the largest number of working mothers and working women in the country. While the average woman nationally only gets 59 cents to every dollar earned by men, in North Carolina, they only get 47 cents.

The admonition "You are not allowed to tell anyone what you make" appears in bold face on the first page of a company booklet handed out to

new workers at a nonunion print shop.

Why?

There are two different pay scales there: one for whites, one for Blacks.

That's the way it usually is in the unorganized plants.

The union movement in North Carolina faces the same employer-government offensive as the rest of the country. Already weak, unions here face even harsher attacks.

Wilbur Hobby, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO, has been indicted by a grand jury on trumped-up charges of defrauding the government with a CETA grant.

## Role of 'Militant' in Piedmont

The *Militant* has played an important role in Betsy Soares' campaign for mayor of Winston-Salem.

The *Militant* is the best place to find on a week-by-week basis the views of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Jerry Hunter, a twenty-two-year old Black who grew up in this area, recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance. After reading the *Militant* for a while (he was a subscriber), he looked up the Soares campaign office in Winston-Salem.

"Winston-Salem has been looking for some political leadership, and so have I," he said. "I didn't find it until I came to the headquarters."

Hunter opposes those who say it helps the Klan to speak out against them.

"I have realized that you have to expose the Klan. It's like taking a rock off the ground and exposing what's crawling around under it to the light."

Soares supporters have had good

experiences combining circulation of the *Militant* with campaigning for their candidate. They take the paper with them while going door to door talking to potential supporters. Often they find themselves invited in for lengthy discussions. Some people have set up small house meetings for Soares.

On the job, socialists say they find co-workers referring to the *Militant* as "my paper." They say it tells the truth and has facts on struggles they can't find in the local paper.

Workers, both Black and white, were interested in the hunger strikers in Ireland. Black workers compared it to the civil rights movement here.

A nuclear power plant is set to be built not far from here. So, people are talking about nuclear power.

And the possibility of war in El Salvador is a special concern to draft-age workers.

The *Militant's* consistent coverage of these issues is responsible for a lot of its appeal.

Why is Hobby being framed? He has been active in the union movement for thirty-five years, helping to lead demonstrations against union-busting outfits, supporting the ERA, working for the J.P. Stevens organizing drive. Unions are organizing a defense effort for him.

### Divide and conquer

Racism is one of the major tools of the government and employers to divide working people and justify unequal pay.

Currently, city fathers are trying to extend the boundaries of the city and redefine several districts. Why? To bring more whites into the city (currently 40 percent Black) and to prevent the city's three Black aldermen from returning to office.

The three Black aldermen received threatening letters from the Klan announcing they would be burned in effigy July 4.

The government, the employers, and the Klan all want North Carolina workers shuffling to their jobs with their heads bowed down. But that's not happening.

Working people are angry at Reagan's budget cuts, inflation, unemployment, and the threat of war. They are looking for ways to fight back.

According to Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, this is exactly why the Klan is coming out of the closet now.

### Klan role

"The stepped-up Klan activity does not signal major growth or a turn to the right of the population as a whole," Soares said. "Just the opposite."

The Klan is getting more active precisely because of the growing polarization developing in the country, Soares explained. The Klan's role is to try to prevent the growing unity between Black and white workers, to



## member

to get 18,000 signatures to get on the ballot.

Recently the Political Rights Defense fund held a rally in support of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment. Several of the speakers—including long-time civil rights leader Lee Fay Mack—came because they were impressed by the fight the socialists were waging both on a local and a national level. They saw the fight against the Klan here and the national suit as efforts in defense of all who stand up for social justice.

### Campaign supporters

There have been other ways that interest and support for Soares' campaign has been shown.

When her campaign was first announced, Soares found people where she works coming up and saying things such as, "I'm so glad you are running." Some wanted to help. Some had already been reading the *Militant*, but others began doing so. Others wanted to know more about what socialism stands for.

At a recent campaign meeting at her headquarters, Soares explained why she was running. "Big business has its courts, cops, and political parties," she said. "We need our own organizations to defend our interests on the job, unions. And we need our own political party, a labor party."

Among those present was a Black truck driver who subscribes to the *Militant*. He's reading veteran socialist Farrell Dobbs's books on the Teamsters union.

## and poor

block a united labor response to the employers.

The Klan is also there to play the role of a standby extralegal terror force, to be called into action when needed by the employers.

Right now, Black people are the major target of Klan attacks. But this does not mean Blacks are unwilling to fight for their rights.

In January of this year, before the demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C., to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday, some 20,000 Blacks turned out in Greensboro to hear singer Stevie Wonder, who was touring to build the action. Several buses went to the demonstration from the Piedmont area.

Later this year, despite threats of disruption by the Klan, 800 people came to hear Dick Gregory at Wake Forest University.

That college, whose students include sons and daughters of the very wealthy in the area, was shaken this year when a Black woman defied campus tradition and took down a Confederate flag flying in front of a fraternity.

On May 2, with only two days of announcements, 600 Blacks marched in Winston-Salem to demand a stop to the murders in Atlanta. The action was called by a local radio station.

The marchers were supposed to be restricted to the sidewalk. But there were so many of them that the crowd surged into the street and marched right down the center—even further than originally planned—so that everyone in Winston-Salem would be sure to see that they were there.

This is the South today: workers looking for ways to fight back, Blacks with no intention of returning to Jim Crow. This is what the ruling rich, along with their henchmen in the Klan, are worried about.

# New subway swindle in N.Y.: higher fare, more taxes, worse ride

By Raúl Gonzalez

NEW YORK—On July 3, the New York City transit fare jumped 25 percent—from sixty to seventy-five cents.

On that same day, subway motorman Jesse Cole bled to death while trapped in the cab of an IRT train involved in a collision.

The day before, track maintenance worker Al Lamberti was struck and killed by a train while on the job.

Cole and Lamberti's deaths were a result of speedup and the reduction in the size of work crews. The cuts were made to save money for the crisis-ridden transit system.

In recent months, the Transit Authority, the "public" body that operates the system, has declared war on the more than 33,000 workers organized into Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union.

Transit Authority boss John Simpson several weeks ago announced that transit workers would not be paid the 36-cents-an-hour cost-of-living (COLA) wage adjustment due them in October. He claimed this was due to low productivity.

In the weeks that followed, more than 100 TWU members were subjected to disciplinary action, many for participating in alleged work slowdowns.

These attacks on the transit workers were public and virulent, with media support. The day motorman Jesse Cole was killed, a *Daily News* editorial accused the TWU of sabotaging efforts to rebuild the subways. Transit workers were described as "money-grabbing goldbricks."

While the fare hike was being rammed through and the attacks on transit workers escalated, a tragicomic farce was being played out in the New York state legislature.

Several weeks ago, right after the fare hike, New York State Assembly Speaker Stanley Fink, a Democrat, introduced a bill in the legislature that is supposed to provide the Metropolitan Transportation Authority—the TA's statewide parent agency—with nearly \$800 million over the next two years to "save" the 75-cent fare.

Initially, the measure was seen by some as a partial victory in gaining necessary subsidies for mass transit. That was the first response, for example, of the liberal weekly, the *Village Voice*.

But, as many are now realizing, an examination of the measure that was actually passed shows something quite different.

The bill provides for two basic levies to raise the money for the transit system. The first is a quarter of a percent sales tax throughout the area served by the MTA. For New York city residents already paying an eight percent sales tax, this is not insignificant.

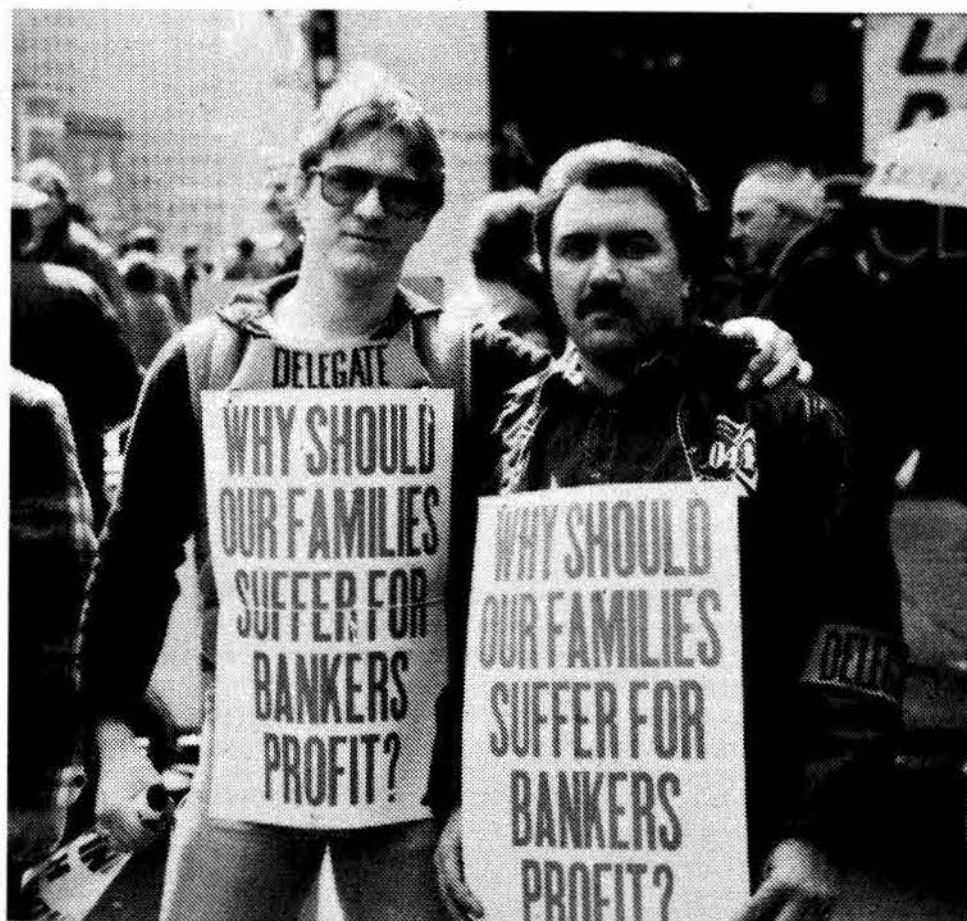
And, of course, sales taxes are always the unfairness of all. For the rich, the extra dollars taken each week by a sales tax don't mean much. For working and poor people, it means a lot.

The bill also includes a ten percent tax on capital gains from the sale of nonresidential property worth more than \$1 million. This sounds pretty good. But there are more loopholes in this portion of the bill than in a hand-knit sweater.

Another proviso calls for a "long lines" levy. This is a tax on the phone company, oil companies, truckers, bus lines, and others that make a profit on business carrying them beyond state lines.

But the statute does not bar them from passing on the tax to the consumer and the pass-on will surely

Raúl González, a member of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City comptroller.



New York transit workers demonstrate on eve of 1980 strike

Militant/Stu Singer

happen.

The most widely-discussed part of the bill was the section changing the method of taxation of oil companies within the state.

The idea was promoted that this particular section meant that the oil companies would be taxed to help subsidize mass transit, a fitting thing to do.

The oil magnates howled like stuck pigs. Mobil ran a big ad campaign opposing the tax. It threatened that plants would close and jobs would be lost. Major corporations, they blustered, would move their national headquarters out of the state.

And, to give the threats real weight, Mobil openly declared that if the tax were enacted it would simply pass it on to the consumer.

When the approximately penny-a-gallon tax passed, Mobil carried out its threat, declaring a three-cent-a-gallon hike.

This was too much. There was an outburst of public anger. Spontaneous picket lines sprang up at several Mobil

stations.

Mobil was forced to step back . . . a bit. It reduced the increase from three cents a gallon to 1.3 cents. Meanwhile, Shell and Getty Oil announced increases too.

The whole thing was a swindle. Not just by the oil barons, but by the state legislature as well.

To begin with, the measure permitted Mobil to pass on the tax rather than ensuring that it came out of their superprofits.

In addition, it was disclosed, a good share of the tax will actually be paid by the individual gas station owners. And, of the amount Mobil would pay, about half can be deducted from its federal taxes. Thus, Mobil took a new price grab on the basis of a tax on which it pays practically nothing.

So what have the Republican and Democratic politicians done about the transit system? More of the same. A 75-cent fare. More death and injuries for transit workers. For the riding public, more noise, stench, and filth. And more danger to life and limb.

## Socialists set petition drive

NEW YORK—The New York Socialist Workers Party will conduct a major petitioning drive in August to qualify its slate for the ballot in the November mayoral election here.

The SWP has nominated Wells Todd, an assembly-line worker and member of the United Auto Workers union, as its mayoral candidate. Susan Wald, a laid-off shipyard worker, is its candidate for city council president. Raúl Gonzalez, a transit worker, is the SWP candidate for comptroller.

To gain a place on the ballot for these candidates, petitions must be signed by 7,500 qualified voters. To ensure that its petitions cannot be arbitrarily disqualified, the SWP plans to obtain 20,000 signatures. It is organizing to obtain these in a single week, from August 22 to 29.

In addition, the party is fielding other candidates: Ken Miliner for Manhattan borough president; Miriam McCray, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, for city council from the second district; and Ray Markey and Diane Wang for at-large seats on

the council. To place these candidates on the ballot, thousands of additional signatures must be gathered.

Like the party itself, the socialist candidates have been active participants in the fightback against the ruinous cuts in social services, and rent and fare hikes, joining in picket lines and speaking out at various public hearings.

In the initial stage of the campaign, the ticket has already issued thirty position papers. These outline its opposition to the draft, for the ERA and abortion rights, opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and support to the Cuban, Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions.

The SWP petition drive to place its ticket on the ballot will be conducted from its campaign headquarters in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

The Manhattan address is 108 East 16th Street (off Union Square). The Brooklyn address is 335 Atlantic Avenue.

For information on when and how you can help call the citywide SWP, 533-2902.



# Denver cop brutality provokes outrage

By Bernie Senter

DENVER—Recent instances of police brutality here have produced shock and outrage.

Eight hundred Chicanos peacefully gathered at a June 28 music festival in La Raza Park were attacked by the police. There was no provocation for the police attack.

"I've never seen anything like that before in my life," Ruth Delearde told the *Rocky Mountain News*. She and her husband were at the park when the police arrived in full riot gear.

"The park was absolutely peaceful up to that point," she stated.

"They didn't care who was there. They were shooting the [tear gas] canisters," Delearde said. "There were children there, there were babies. I can't imagine that happening in America. I was never fearful of the police before, but I am now. I don't care how many permits these people didn't get, there was no reason for them [the police] to do that. They hurt children."

At first the police claimed that they busted up the music concert because it was without a permit. The next day it was revealed that the event was an annual concert sponsored by the Denver Parks and Recreation Department. The department itself is responsible for issuing permits. The department director, Joe Ciancio, said, "We don't issue ourselves permits to hold events."

The next day, 200 Chicanos gathered at the park to protest the police violence. They marched downtown to join in a protest against President Reagan, who was appearing at the NAACP national convention.

Later the same day, Ernest Myres, an eighteen-year-old

Black youth, was killed while being arrested by two policemen.

The two policemen, one or both of whom were off duty, tried to arrest Myres at his home. A scuffle broke out and one officer got Myres in a headlock.

Myres's sister, Carol, who witnessed the incident, said, "I don't care what nobody says; he killed my brother."

Carol reported that the police held Myres in a sitting position until they fastened the handcuffs. When they released him he fell to the ground.

"The police refused to administer any first aid until an ambulance had arrived," Myres's father told me.

In another incident, a Denver police officer, Daril Cinquanta, is under investigation for allegedly assaulting a Chicana woman whom he arrested June 3.

Barbara Valdez Maes was working on her car at her home when Cinquanta drove up in his patrol car and said, "Well if it isn't Barbara; I haven't seen you in four years."

Cinquanta then arrested her for driving with a suspended license and failing to produce a license. The charges were subsequently dropped.

Maes claims that Cinquanta assaulted her while making the arrest. Witnesses have verified her story.

"I have a very good view of Barbara's car from my home," Vera Martínez said. "All of a sudden he grabbed Barbara and raised her arms so high behind her back that I thought he was going to break something. He pulled her arms so hard that he slammed her head against the car."

Cinquanta, and the rest of Denver's police force still roam the streets.

# 500 in Miami demand political asylum for Haitians

By Caryn Swan and Jerry Hunnicutt

MIAMI—Demanding an end to deportation of Haitian refugees to Puerto Rico, and chanting "Hey, hey USA, stop supporting Duvalier!" and "Political asylum for Haitian refugees!" more than 500 Haitians and their supporters marched through Liberty City, the heart of Miami's Black community.

They joined several hundred more supporters at a rally that demanded the U.S. government stop its efforts to jail, transfer, and deport Haitian refugees.

The rally blasted the inhuman conditions at the Krome Avenue detention center. The detention center's top capacity was 550 people. Now, it has 1,500 refugees and at times has exceeded 2,000.

Krome Avenue is often referred to as a concentration camp because of the deplorable

conditions.

Meanwhile, the federal government continues its racist moves to deport the Black boat people.

It has transferred some 200 Haitian refugees to jails in rural areas of New York, Texas, and West Virginia. This is just another attempt to isolate them from lawyers and legal assistants, and from the Haitian community that is their biggest source of support.

Reagan's new refugee plan includes more transfers to out-of-the-way jails, turning back Haitian boats before they reach the U.S., and sending some 2,000 refugees to Fort Allen in Puerto Rico.

The broad opposition to this plan was shown by the many speakers at the rally. The most warmly-received greetings came from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which blasted U.S. moves to transfer the Hai-

tian refugees to Puerto Rico, where they could be more easily deported.

The PSP statement explained that the Puerto Rican people are fighting for their freedom against U.S. domination. When they win that freedom, they would gladly invite Haitian refugees into a free Puerto Rico. Until then, they will fight with the Haitian refugees to keep them from being jailed and deported.

Messages of support were also sent by Ben Chavis, Julian Bond, Ossie Davis, and Jesse Jackson.

Speakers at the rally were former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Lennox Hinds from the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Herbert Daughtry from the Black United Front, and members of the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

# Chi. Puerto Rican community protests police harassment

By Rich Robohm

CHICAGO—Two hundred demonstrators, most of them Puerto Ricans, marched several miles to city hall July 14 to protest Mayor Jane Byrne's police "crackdown" on their community. On the pretext of trying to halt "gang violence" in the Humboldt Park and West Town areas of Chicago, Byrne sent her cops in to shut down forty-seven bars and other businesses in the Puerto Rican community.

In addition to padlocking Latino-owned establishments for alleged health and building code violations, the cops arrested five community leaders on such trumped-up charges as "disorderly conduct" and "resisting arrest." The five were ar-

rested when police broke up the meeting they were holding to discuss the problem of police harassment.

Byrne has seized on two recent killings in the Puerto Rican community as an excuse to step up police harassment. But her unleashing of racist cops to ride roughshod over the rights of community residents has met with an angry response.

Virtually every civic, political, and commercial organization in Chicago's Puerto Rican community has joined a coalition opposing the mayor's actions. Among the participating groups are the Alliance for a Better Community, *Aspira*, Puerto Rican Chamber of Commerce, Spanish Action Committee, and West Town Concerned

Citizens Coalition. They are demanding that all closed businesses be allowed to reopen immediately, an end to police harassment, and adherence to due process of law.

The coalition is also demanding a public apology from Mayor Byrne for slandering community leaders and businessmen as siding with gangs and drug pushers.

One other demand of the July 14 protest was to drop all charges against the five community leaders arrested the week before. Two of them were arrested again at the city hall demonstration, along with three others, when they attempted to enter city hall for a meeting with the mayor.

# Puerto Rican nationalist faces 70-year term

By Nelson González

On July 24 a federal grand jury found Oscar López Rivera guilty of seditious conspiracy, armed robbery, weapons violations, and interstate transportation of stolen property.

He faces a maximum of seventy years in prison.

López Rivera is one of the eleven Puerto Ricans arrested in Chicago last year and accused of being members of the Fuerzas Armadas de la Liberación Nacional (FALN).

The government claims that the FALN has been responsible for a four-year campaign of bombings and other violent activity in support of Puerto Rican independence.

During López Rivera's trial, Alfredo Méndez, one of the eleven, appeared as a surprise witness for the government. Méndez claimed he had been visited in prison by an unnamed "affiliate of the FALN" who told about a plot to kidnap President Reagan's son in a bid to free the eleven prisoners.

Méndez had been removed by federal officials April 30 from the state prison in Pontiac, Illinois, to an unknown location. Family and relatives were unable to visit him. Family members who spoke to him over the phone said that Mén-

dez did not know where he was and spoke as if he were drugged. His appearance at the trial as a government informer was his first since the transfer.

Responding to Méndez's charges, López Rivera branded him a traitor and called the supposed kidnapping plot "an outrageous lie."

López Rivera produced a memorandum written by Méndez's lawyers. The memorandum indicated that in return for his testimony, Méndez would receive presidential clemency.

López Rivera and the other nine Puerto Rican prisoners consider themselves prisoners of war in a struggle against U.S. imperialism's enslavement of Puerto Rico. As a result they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts and have refused to testify on their own behalf. They demand that their case be handled by an international tribunal.

In a statement at the end of the trial, López Rivera asserted, "I am here because I have the courage to fight. . . . The U.S. government may be able to sidetrack us, but they won't be able to stop us. Puerto Rico will be free and a socialist country."

# Cinn. employee reveals racist plan of hotel manager

By Morris Starsky

CINCINNATI—A \$65 million luxury downtown hotel opened here recently just in time to attract quite a few reservations for the upcoming Kool Jazz Festival. Most of the reservations came from Blacks.

This was just too much for the hotel's racist convention manager. So, he wrote a memo to the hotel's management with some suggestions for handling the influx of Black guests. The memo, intended to be secret, was made

public by a hotel employee.

In the memo the convention manager alerts his bosses to the need to assign festival guests to an isolated floor because they will be very loud and play stereos all the time. He urges beefed-up security on this floor because there will be drug dealing and much theft of hotel property. He even suggests removing the ash trays from the rooms and providing guests with old or used towels because they will be stolen.

Black politicians denounced the memo as insulting, but the hotel management supported its "policy" of encouraging employees to voice "suggestions."

The Black Independent Political Party called for an apology from the hotel and for the immediate firing of the racist convention manager. At this writing the issue has not been resolved, but the Black Cincinnati city manager, Sylvester Murray, cancelled two room reservations.

# Teachers oppose arms to Salvador

By Jeff Mackler

MINNEAPOLIS—A thunderous ovation from 7,500 delegates greeted the remarks of Rosamaria Rivera, a Salvadoran teacher, at the convention of the National Education Association (NEA) held here July 1-6.

"I plead with you," Rivera said, "don't allow the U.S. government to send arms to El

Salvador to kill our teachers, our students, our men and women. . . . Spend the money on education for your own children."

The convention passed three significant motions on El Salvador. One condemned "the government of El Salvador for its role in the assassinations and other acts of violence and injustice against the members

of the National Association of Salvadorean Educators (ANDES)."

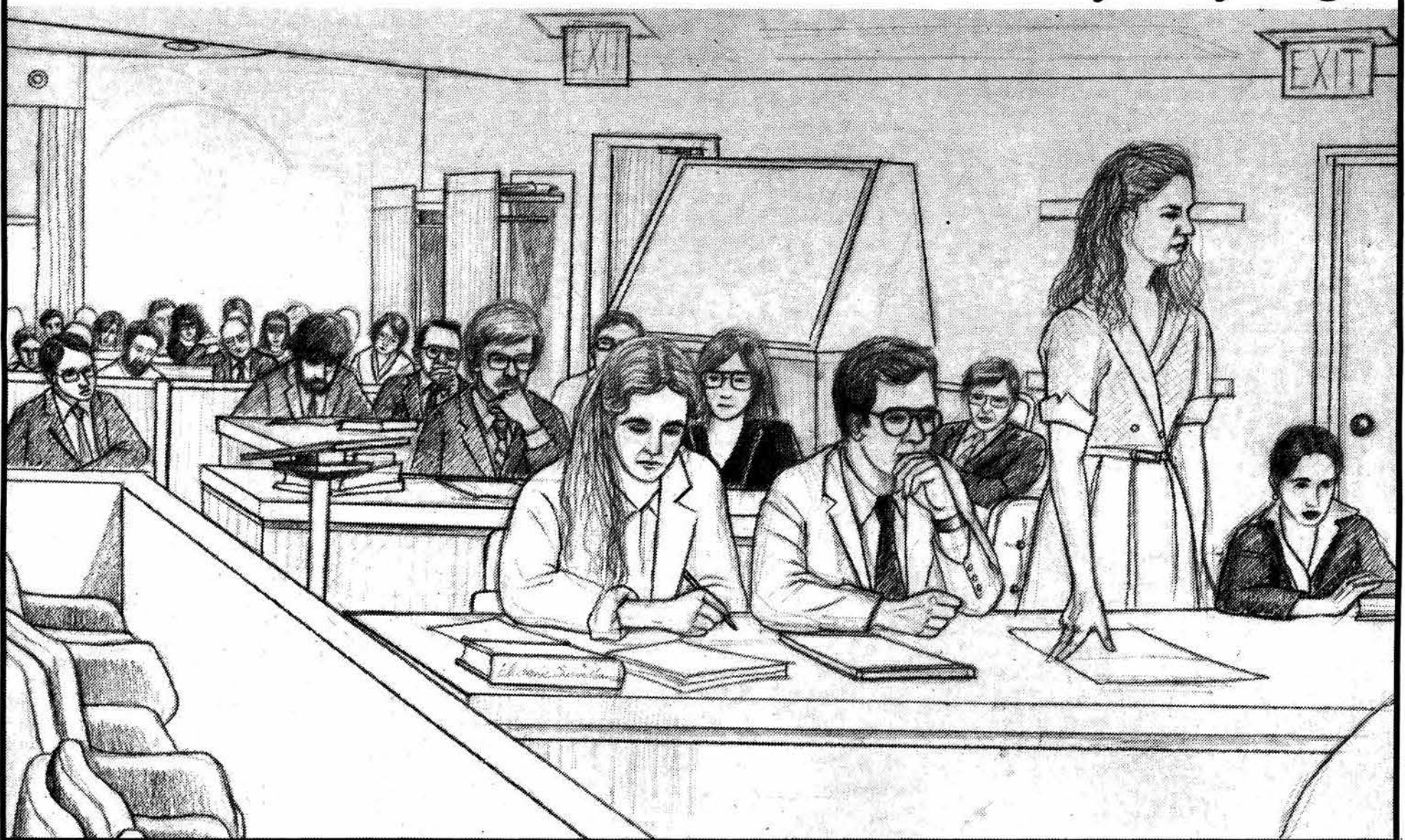
A second resolution called for the NEA to join with other groups in urging "the immediate termination of all United States military aid and involvement in El Salvador." A third supported the Salvadoran teachers union in its efforts to secure basic democratic rights.



# international **socialist** review

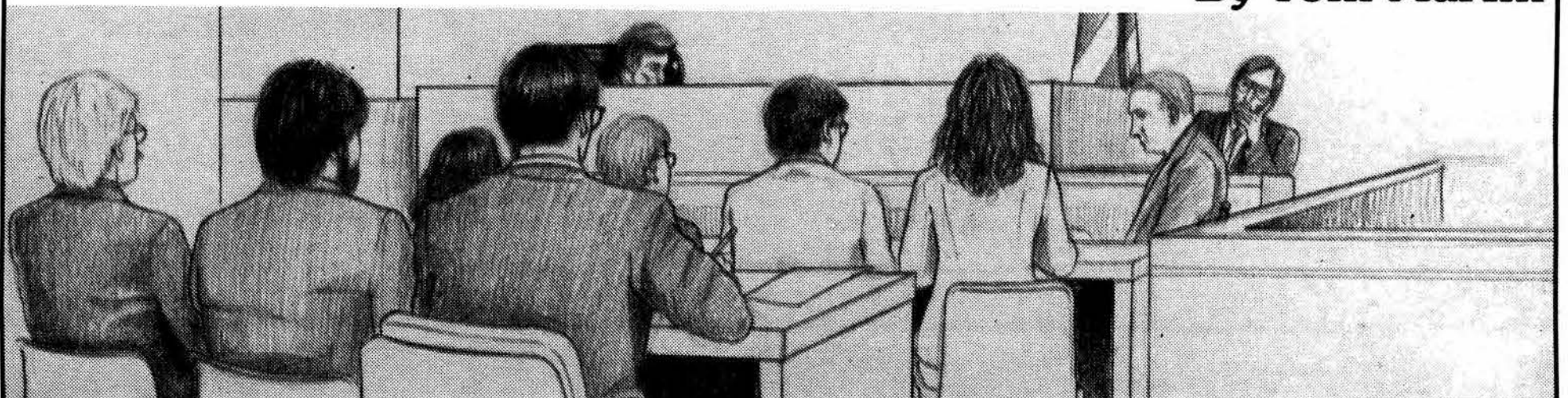
## Washington's War Against the Bill of Rights

By Larry Seigle



## A Day in Court Marxism and the Russian Revolution

By Tom Martin





# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Behind the Reagan Budget

This month's column is by William Gotlieb.

The Reagan administration and Congress have begun to roll back gains won by working people over fifty years. Social security, Medicare, Medicaid, CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act), Occupational Safety and Health Administration, legal aid, school lunches, education, environmental regulations—all are being cut back sharply.

It takes time for the scope of the attacks to sink in. Budget cutbacks is a rather dry phrase—until we remember that it is human lives that are being cut back.

How did this happen? Is it all the result of the capture of the White House by a gang of right-wing extremists? The ultra-rightist tendencies of the Reagan administration are unmistakable, but its rise to office represents something far more fundamental than the succession of one group of politicians by another.

It represents a deepgoing shift by the U.S. ruling class, aimed at solving grave economic difficulties for big business.

During the last fifty years, American working people won important concessions in two big waves of struggle—during the 1930s and 1960s. Now big business is determined to take back what it was forced to give. The aim is to make working people bear the brunt of the economic crisis that big business faces.

While the working class was hard hit by the economic crisis of the 1930s, the rise of industrial unionism in the form of the CIO forced Roosevelt's administration to institute a system of Social Security and unemployment insurance.

In the late 1950s, the struggle for Black liberation began to rise—exploding into a massive upsurge in the 1960s. During the 1960s, a massive antiwar movement also put big business on the defensive.

A series of new social programs was instituted. Among them were Medicare, Medicaid, and food stamps.

As a result, the well-being of the poorest sections of the population improved somewhat. In 1964, the poor visited doctors an average of 3.8 times a year. By 1978, this had climbed to 6.2 times per year.

In 1965 there were nearly 25 deaths for every 1,000 live births. In 1976, there were only 15 deaths per 1,000 live births.

And malnutrition was reduced.

In both the 1930s and 1960s, the U.S. ruling class thought they could afford making such concessions as a means of forestalling even more explosive struggles. Since the end of the First World War, the United States had held a

dominant position in the world capitalist market—a domination that grew stronger during the Great Depression and World War II.

After World War II, U.S. capitalism was obliged to help revive its competitors in Western Europe and Japan. The alternative would have been revolutionary upheavals, especially in Western Europe.

But as Western Europe and Japan absorbed the most modern U.S. technology and began to surge ahead on their own, the U.S. monopoly of the capitalist world market began to gradually erode. The U.S. capitalists experienced a gradual decline in their share of world trade, even though world trade continued to expand.

The victory of the Soviet Union, in World War II, and the establishment of workers states in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba narrowed the arena of capitalist exploitation. The rise of the colonial revolution led to varying degrees of independence for countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—and posed a growing challenge to the exploitation of these countries.

These changes gradually undermined the profitability and stability of U.S. capitalism.

By the 1970s, the gap between the growth of production on a world scale and the slowing growth of the capitalist market began to make itself felt. This trend was heralded by growing international monetary crises and oil price increases, and exploded into the world recession of 1974-75.

After a brief recovery, capitalism entered a new period of stagnation in 1979. With many countries staggering under massive debts and pressures for protectionist measures growing, the next upturn in the world economy is not likely to be very robust.

As a result of this shift from growth to stagnation, international competition takes place in a changed context. When markets are expanding, many capitalists can share the gains. But in a contracting market, the only way a capitalist can expand profits is at the expense of his rivals.

The March 30 *Wall Street Journal* describes how Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige summarizes the problem. According to the *Journal*, Baldrige "said the slow growth in U.S. productivity, which is output per hour worked, and anticipated slow growth of the world economy over the next decade 'means that all countries will be interested in expanding exports and reluctant to accept more imports.' He concluded, 'It means that international competition is going to get tougher than ever before.'"

The next decade will see industrial and commercial warfare for shares of the world market. Each capitalist country and individual corporation will be fighting for survival.

When an individual business is caught in a stagnant or declining market it attempts to increase its profits by cutting costs, that is, producing more cheaply than its competitors. Always heading the list of costs to be cut are wages. Workers are the bosses' candidates to bear the brunt of a crisis.

And that is the meaning of the Reagan budget. Acting in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole, the government is slashing

the social wages of working people—from transit to hospitals to schools to food to legal aid—to provide more profits for big business.

At the same time a shift in the burden of taxation is being engineered—under the demagogic cover of a "tax cut"—by slashing the income taxes paid by the wealthy while increasing Social Security, sales, and other taxes paid by working people.

The federal government is using all its power to further a single aim: raising the rate of profit for the rich.

At the same time, the administration and Congress are helping the corporations carry out their own drives against the workers' standard of living.

For example, Chrysler rammed down its wage cuts while the federal government threatened to cancel loan guarantees if the United Auto Workers refused to go along with the wage cuts.

The Reagan administration and Congress are using threats of even bigger cuts in federal subsidies for Conrail and Amtrak to blackmail the rail unions into going along with wage cuts, speedup, and massive layoffs.

The intense competition for domination in the world market is accompanied by an accelerated drive toward war. A major function of the Reagan budget is to take the monies it needs to massively expand the military out of the hides of working people.

Every dollar of military spending today means one dollar less of social services or one dollar more paid in taxes by working people.

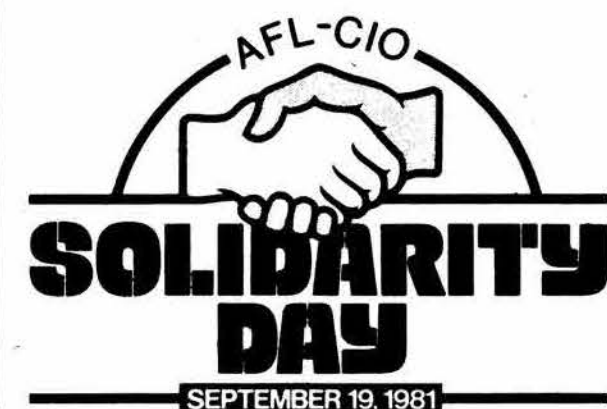
It's guns, not butter, from here on out if the bosses have their way.

The combination of economic crisis, growing war moves and war preparations, and rising revolutionary struggles around the world indicate that the capitalist system is approaching the most severe crisis in its history.

The answer of the Reagan administration and the capitalist class to this crisis means untold misery for tens of millions of Americans—and ultimately a catastrophic war that can destroy humanity.

The way out of the crisis will come when working people take their own destinies into their hands and establish their own government. Such a government can replace the irrationality of capitalism with a system that uses the wealth produced by humanity to meet the needs of human beings.

That transformation will make an abomination like the Reagan budget—which subordinates every human consideration to the profit of a few—an impossibility once and for all.



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# Washington's War Against the Bill of Rights

## What the Trial of the Socialist Suit Has Revealed

By Larry Seigle

The following article replies to an editorial that appeared in the July 11 'Nation' magazine. The editorial is reprinted in the box below.

The 'Nation' criticized the course followed by the Socialist Workers Party in the trial of its suit against the government, using the last day of testimony (June 25, not June 27 as the 'Nation' states) as its foil. This was the first report in the 'Nation' dealing with the nearly three months of trial proceedings.

The 'Nation' charged that the 'original plan to use the case as a vehicle for educating the American people in what Frank Donner . . . has called the intelligence community's ugly "mode of governance," went awry.'

The editorial criticizes the SWP for answering government charges that 'the party is a conspiratorial, revolutionary and subversive organization' by explaining its ideas and defending their legality.

Did the trial in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance case go "awry," as the *Nation* concludes in its editorial? Did the SWP allow itself to be "diverted" during the trial, as the *Nation* editors charge?

As the most influential legal offensive against

the broad sweep of government spying and disruption, and the only one so far to go to trial, the case known as *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* offers many lessons for the battles over democratic rights that are now shaping up. But to understand those lessons, we need an accurate view of the issues in the case, as well as what really transpired during the trial.

Unfortunately, the *Nation* fails to offer even a clue as to what happened. From the *Nation's* incredibly selective reporting, one would draw the conclusion that the primary question the SWP put before the court was whether or not the October Revolution was the lawful act of a majority. Fortunately, that question was decided by the workers and poor peasants of Russia in 1917 without waiting for a ruling from the District Court in New York. (In courtroom lingo, it would be said that the judge "lacks jurisdiction" on the question.)

Of course, the truth about the Russian Revolution was at issue in the trial, as was the truth about the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Vietnam, and a few other places as well. A central issue in the case is whether the Bill of Rights applies to those who advocate socialist revolution in the United States, as the SWP and the YSA do. Naturally, the question of what constitutes a socialist revolution, and why the SWP believes that the revolutions of the twentieth century have reg-

istered giant steps forward for humanity, were important issues at the trial.

Thus, as the *Nation* reports, Farrell Dobbs, the SWP's leadoff witness, presented in general terms our view of the decisive role of the Bolshevik Party in leading the masses of Russian workers and peasants to overthrow the capitalist government and establish the first workers state in the history of the world.

But the *Nation* departs from the facts when it reports, "At this point, the government produced one J. Gregory Oswald, professor of history at the University of Arizona. . . ."

"At this point" was actually eight and one-half weeks later. Fifty-one witnesses testified between Dobbs and Oswald. Many of them were members of the SWP and YSA who explained their views and activities, and presented the most comprehensive record ever compiled of the effects of illegal practices by the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other agencies. That record spanned forty years.

In addition, dozens of government witnesses

Larry Seigle coordinated the Socialist Workers Party's campaign around the suit against the government. He was in court throughout the presentation of testimony at the trial.

## 'History Lecture': An Editorial from the Nation

The following editorial appeared in the July 11-18, 1981, issue of 'The Nation,' under the title 'History Lecture.'

Although one wouldn't know it from mainstream press coverage (that is to say, the lack of it), the testimony in what may have been a landmark case came to a close June 27 in Room 302 at the Foley Square Courthouse in New York City.

*Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* began eight years ago, when the S.W.P. and the Young Socialist Alliance, both Trotskyist organizations, filed a civil suit demanding \$40 million in recompense for four decades of illegal acts against them by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other government agencies. As presiding Judge Thomas Griesa put it when the suit finally came to trial in March after eight years of stalling tactics by the government [see Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, "Square Target of the F.B.I.," *The Nation*, September 25, 1976]: "The issues in this case relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights which lie at the very foundation of our system of government—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from governmental organs."

Indeed, the S.W.P.'s suit focused widespread public attention on the F.B.I.'s infamous COINTELPRO operations and eventually yielded more than 200,000 pages of documentation of illegal government investigations of black, labor, women's and antiwar groups as well as of socialist and other political movements in this country. The government claimed that since Attorney General Edward Levi issued his 1976 guidelines ostensibly banning such activities, it no longer engages in harassment of the S.W.P., but the plaintiffs introduced evidence purporting to show that COINTELPRO-type tactics such as burglary, arson and phony letter campaigns are still being employed against the par-

ty and its members. But the party's original plan to use the case as a vehicle for educating the American people in what Frank Donner, author of *The Age of Surveillance*, has called the intelligence community's ugly "mode of governance," went awry.

First, for reasons still unclear, the S.W.P. encouraged Leonard Boudin, who had handled their case for eight years (and in whose name, incidentally, hundreds of thousands of defense dollars were raised), to terminate his involvement two weeks before the case went to trial. Boudin, who is one of the leading constitutional lawyers in the country and something of a celebrity in his own right, was their best chance of attracting mainstream media attention and maintaining credibility, so letting him go was at a minimum a public relations blunder. Whether because of Boudin's absence or a changed climate, press coverage fell off markedly.

A second diversion occurred when the government claimed that its operations against the S.W.P. were justified because the party is a conspiratorial, revolutionary and subversive organization. This was proved, the government argued, by the party's claim that it represents the true traditions of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This opened the way for the party to put Farrell Dobbs, its elder statesman, on the stand to explain the party's relationship to the revolution, after which Judge Griesa surprised the courtroom by announcing that he had read an *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on the revolution and wanted to know more.

At this point, the government produced one J. Gregory Oswald, professor of history at the University of Arizona, whose scholarly credentials seemed to consist solely of two books he had edited about Soviet policies toward Latin America. Oswald described the Bolshevik Revolution in terms that made it seem little more than a conspiracy against the Russian people.

Thus it was that on the final day of what had

originally been billed as the definitive trial of illegal police activities in the contemporary United States, a packed courtroom sat enthralled as they received a lecture about the Finland Station in 1917. For more than four hours, Stephen Cohen, a professor of Soviet politics and history at Princeton University, testified that the Russian Revolution was a popular uprising rather than a conspiracy, and dilated on the nature of the original Bolshevik movement, the early history of the Soviet government and the relationship of Marxism to everything from terrorism to constitutional republicanism.

In the weeks ahead we expect to read the transcript of the trial closely, since we have been unable to glean from newspaper coverage what documentation of continuing police abuses the Socialist Workers Party has placed on the public record. We have no idea how Judge Griesa will rule on the S.W.P.'s \$40 million damage claim, although we were pleased to see that the U.S. Supreme Court last week affirmed a lower court decision that former President Richard M. Nixon and three top-level aides may be required to pay monetary damages for unconstitutionally wiretapping the telephone of Morton Halperin, a former national security aide.

Thus far, the public remains relatively ignorant about the nature and extent of the government's intrusions on our liberties. This is unfortunate, especially at a time when the Reagan Administration, buttressed by the Heritage Foundation report [see Jay Peterzell, "Unleashing the Dogs of McCarthyism," *The Nation*, January 17], is expected to ask for renewed authority to infiltrate domestic organizations, and to tap, bug and otherwise harass them. Nevertheless, given the incessant alarms about Soviet-inspired terrorism (despite F.B.I. Director William Webster's dismissal of this alleged threat), Professor Cohen's Russian history lesson may have been worth the price of admission all by itself.



**Continued from preceding page**

were called to the stand. They ranged from slick-talking top Department of Justice officials, to square-jawed "street agents" who explained the FBI's mission of combating subversion without displaying the least embarrassment. They were questioned about the goals and methods of the operations they carried out against the socialists, and their answers revealed in unprecedented detail basic truths about the government's conspiracy against the democratic rights of the American people.

Let's take a brief look at some of the most important of those truths, which the *Nation* fails to mention. Then we can come back to the question of whether the SWP's strategy led the case "awry."

**Whose 'Mode of Governance'?**

The *Nation* asserts that the SWP's "original plan," from which it allowed itself to be side-tracked, was "to use the case as a vehicle for educating the American people in what Frank Donner, author of *The Age of Surveillance*, has called the intelligence community's ugly 'mode of governance' . . . ."

This is a misstatement of the original—and continuing—plan. It is not the "intelligence community's" mode of governance that the SWP case has exposed to public view. It is the ugly mode of governance of the government itself.

What emerged from nearly eight years of pre-trial proceedings, and then with even greater clarity from the evidence forced out of the government at the trial itself, was *not* an FBI running amok, engaging in dirty deeds unbeknownst to wiser and more democratic-minded heads in Washington. On the contrary, what has been proven is the existence of a true conspiracy to subvert the Bill of Rights. The chief actors in this plot, the record shows any objective person, include presidents from at least Franklin Roosevelt on, a long list of attorney generals, and other top officials throughout the government.

The real diversion would have been a course that focused exclusively on FBI "abuses," because it would have covered up one of the essential facts that underlies today's threat to democratic rights: the extent to which the rule of law, as guaranteed by the Constitution, has been replaced by the arbitrary rule of an expanding executive power in the name of "national security." The fact that this arbitrary power is wielded with the knowledge of the Congress and the courts doesn't make it one bit less of a deadly threat to democratic rights.

Forcing the existence of this totalitarian tumor into the open, and laying bare its malignant nature, has been one of the great victories of the SWP case so far. It was at the very heart of the trial itself.

**President's 'Inherent Power'**

One of the government witnesses who spelled out this concept was Robert Keuch, Deputy Assistant Attorney General. Keuch is the third-ranking official in the Department of Justice, one of those who remain in place while attorney generals change with administrations. His job on the stand was to explain why the FBI's crimes against the SWP and YSA aren't crimes at all.

The president, insisted Keuch, has the "inherent power" under the Constitution "to protect our government against those who would seek to change it by unlawful means." This power is the source of legal authority, he said, for "intelligence investigations" whose purpose is to enable government officials "to take steps to protect ourselves [!] and protect our form of government. . . ."

It was this "inherent power," Keuch explained, that Roosevelt was exercising when, on the eve of World War II, he unleashed the FBI as a political police force because "he simply wanted to know what were the activities and the aims and intentions of groups who potentially could be acting inimically to our form of government. . . ."

When asked to explain what he meant by actions inimical to our form of government, Keuch explained: "Well, of course there can be many actions taken to attempt to influence the policies of the United States, its actions, et cetera, that do not necessarily involve or constitute a violation of law. It could be an attempt, for example, to do away with the classification program. There could be agitation to do away with security programs totally. An intent to weaken the defenses of the United States. . . ."

"There are simply ways that individuals and groups can act that may not necessarily constitute violations of the criminal statutes." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, opinions and actions that are not illegal, but are nonetheless "wrong," can make you the target of the political police. Take Keuch's three examples.

- An attempt to get rid of the government's document "classification program"—such as opposing government moves to reduce public access to secret political files under the Freedom of Information Act?

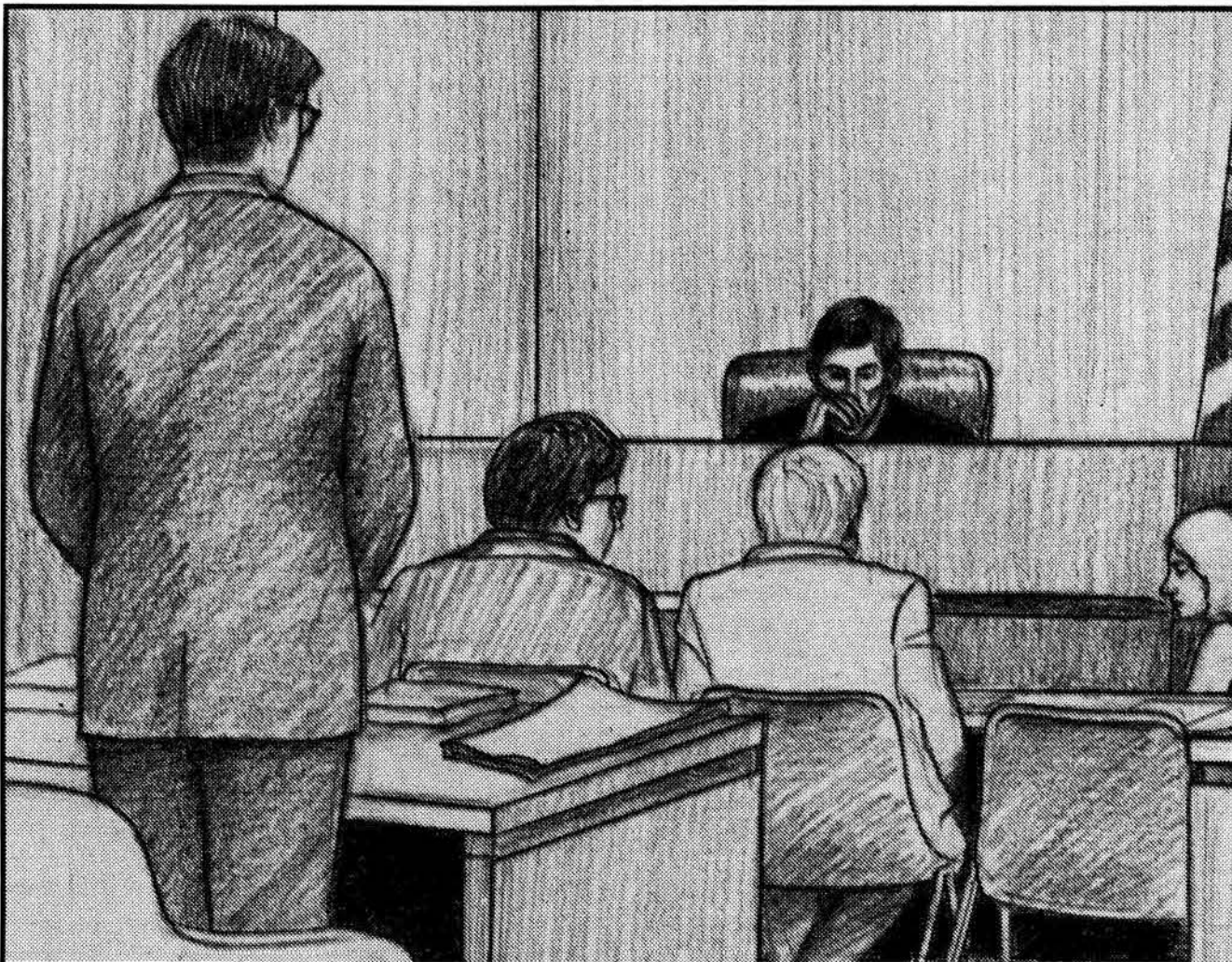
- "Agitation to do away with security programs totally"—such as demanding a halt to using undercover stool pigeons and provocateurs against political groups; or scrapping the FBI, CIA, and INS altogether?

- "An intent to weaken the defense of the United States"—such as opposing the draft, or

and to be the Commander in Chief. On the other hand you have the Fourth Amendment. Some time, some place, the court has got to decide where to draw the line."

At this point, Brownell turned to look presiding Judge Thomas Griesa right in the eye and added, "So far there has been no court decision which prohibited such activities in the field of intelligence." (No one present needed a translation: This has been going on for a long time and no federal judge has ever dared to tell us we can't do it. So don't make trouble for yourself and everybody else, buddy.)

What this comes down to is that an accused member of a drug ring is, in the eyes of the government, officially entitled to the protection of the



Government defense attorney Edward Williams and SWP plaintiff's attorney Margaret Winter stand before federal Ju high Justice Department official. Their testimony that president has 'inherent right' to investigate and disrupt oppon

joining a coalition to keep the MX missile out of Utah and Nevada?

According to Keuch, all of these are admittedly legal, yet nonetheless grounds for the government to keep track of you and try to disrupt your activities. This purely totalitarian concept of government, it must be emphasized, was presented not by some overheated FBI agent, but by the Justice Department's chief policy spokesperson at the trial.

And what happens to you when the executive power gets your name on a list? The Bill of Rights does not apply. According to government witnesses, rulings by the Supreme Court that outlaw warrantless wiretaps, bugs, and "surreptitious entries" into your home or office by the cops, apply only to criminal cases, where evidence is ultimately to be presented to a court. These rulings, which uphold the Fourth Amendment protection against "unreasonable searches and seizures," they argued, do not apply to "intelligence" or "national security" cases, such as the government's operation against the SWP and the YSA. In such cases you, or the organization you belong to, can be targeted for permanent investigation and permanent surveillance, and no court need ever be presented with any evidence against you.

**Attorney General Brownell**

This was laid out with arrogant nonchalance by Herbert Brownell, attorney general under Eisenhower, and another chief government witness at the trial. He was asked by SWP chief trial counsel Margaret Winter whether it was "your view as the attorney general that the Fourth Amendment was applicable to intelligence investigations."

Brownell responded: "We didn't have any guidance from the Supreme Court on that. I think the matter is still open as far as the Supreme Court is concerned. On the one hand you have the express powers of the president to conduct foreign affairs

Fourth Amendment. An accused "subversive," however, is not.

This was generalized by Robert Keuch: ". . . this type of surveillance simply was not thought of as a law-enforcement technique. It was thought of primarily and almost exclusively as an intelligence technique."

"THE COURT: You are saying that for intelligence investigations the FBI would install the microphones for national security purposes even if a trespass was involved?"

"THE WITNESS: Yes, sir."

This claim of the power of the executive branch to ignore the Fourth Amendment and the rest of the Bill of Rights in the name of national security is not new. The record of the SWP trial shows that it has been secretly relied on for forty-five years to justify illegal government activities.

What is new is that a head-on and forceful challenge has been made to this claimed power. In response, the government has been forced to openly set forth a defense of its position, which until now they have very largely kept hidden from the American people.

**Permanent, Bipartisan Policy**

These deliberate violations by the government of protections supposedly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights are not episodic deviations from the rule of law. Rather, they are expressions of a permanent, bipartisan policy that remains constant no matter which party is in power or what court decisions say. This too was proved beyond a doubt at the trial.

The government's policy on wiretapping is a good example. In 1934, Congress made it a crime for anyone to intercept and disclose the contents of telephone conversations by means of wiretapping. In 1937, the Supreme Court made it explicit that this applied to federal agents as well as anyone



else. However, the Justice Department, in secret, decided to "interpret" the statute to mean that it was okay for federal agents to use wiretaps so long as the information was not transmitted outside the federal government. Even the government's glib legal "expert" witness at the trial, a law professor from Notre Dame, had to concede the obvious: the Roosevelt administration had "twisted the statute to make it fit" their needs.

Then, in 1939, when the Supreme Court reaffirmed its ban on wiretapping, Roosevelt had another idea. A confidential memorandum from Roosevelt to Attorney General Robert Jackson, submitted into evidence by the government, stated, "... the Supreme Court never intended any dictum in the particular case which it decided to

decision to break ranks and refuse to support Roosevelt for re-election.

#### Roosevelt and Hoover

The next year Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast longshore union (who was fighting government moves to deport him on political grounds), discovered that his phone was being tapped by the FBI. Attorney General Francis Biddle (who around this time authorized the Smith Act prosecution against the SWP leaders) later wrote about a White House meeting following public protests over the Bridges wiretap.

"When all this came out in the newspapers," he wrote, "I could not resist suggesting to Hoover that he tell the story of the unfortunate tap directly to

nal security and the national safety are paramount and, therefore, may compel the unrestricted use of this technique in the national interest." (Emphasis added.)

For the attorney general of the United States, consideration of the right of people to be secure in the privacy of their own bedrooms, or the safety of constitutional liberties, didn't enter into the calculation. After all, "subversives" have no right of privacy, in their bedrooms or anywhere else.

#### Disruption Programs and 'Investigations'

With fundamental constitutional questions such as these being squarely posed, in many cases for the first time ever before a federal judge, it is clear that the SWP trial was far more than a "trial of illegal police activities," as the *Nation* claims it "had originally been billed."

The *Nation* editors seem to think that the main question at the trial was whether the SWP was able to come up with new evidence of previously undisclosed Cointelpro operations and the like. In doing so, they totally miss the main point about Cointelpro, which was documented for the first time on the public record through the evidence amassed at the trial: what is known as "Cointelpro" was merely a bureaucratic formalization of techniques and objectives that are at the core of all "intelligence" investigations. It is this that has always been the driving force behind the "investigations" against the Communist Party, the SWP, the Black movement, trade-union militants, and other targets.

Cointelpro never "began." *It was always there.* Likewise, it never "ended." It just changed its name.

Until very recently, the government had tried to claim that Cointelpro was one of the aberrations that resulted from J. Edgar Hoover's excesses and the "abuses" with which the FBI responded to the difficult days of the 1960s. They argued that this was all behind us, because now the FBI was under the control and supervision of the attorney general and other reliable defenders of constitutional rights.

With this line they hoped that they could insulate so-called legitimate FBI political investigations from the public outrage over Cointelpro. FBI critics who focused exclusively on Cointelpro itself, rather than exposing the organic connection between Cointelpro and the entire political police operation, fell right into the trap.

At the trial, the SWP took a different course. Extensive evidence of Cointelpro operations against the SWP and other groups was submitted. The trial record, in fact, constitutes the most complete account ever assembled of the goals, techniques, and effects of Cointelpro. But that wasn't the end; it was only the beginning.

Witness after witness from the government revealed under questioning that disruption *has always been* the central goal of FBI "investigations" against political groups.

One of these witnesses was Raymond Wannall, now retired, who was assistant director of the Intelligence Division of the FBI. Wannall explained that the SWP has *always been* considered a legitimate target for "counterintelligence" operations because of its relationships with socialists in other countries, including sections of the Fourth International and other revolutionary groups and currents.

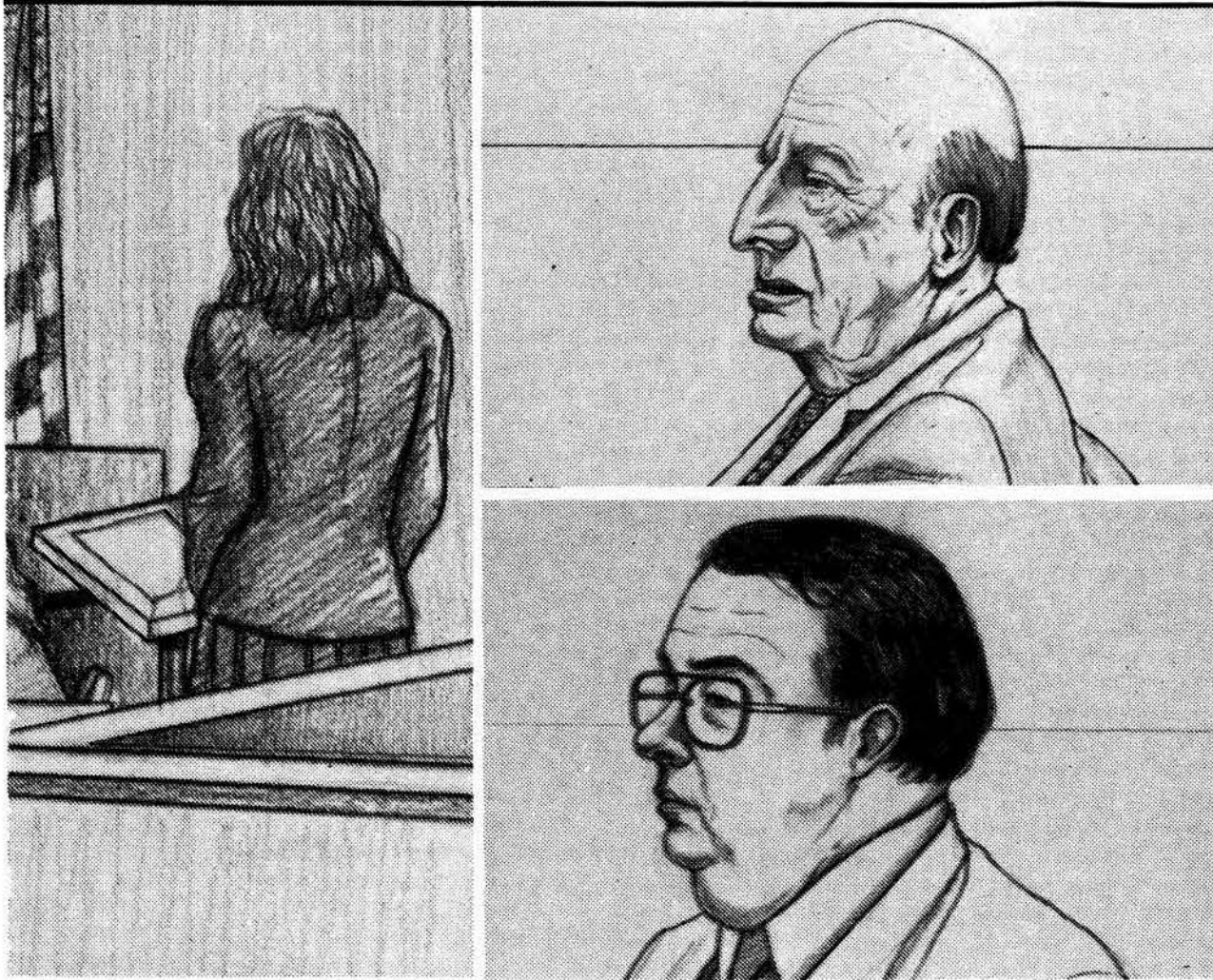
According to Wannall, "In any counterintelligence investigation there are three principal goals: one, to identify the opposition; two, to determine their activities in advance, if possible; and, three, to take measures necessary to assure they *won't attain their objectives.*"

Making it still more explicit, he stated, "The goals in counterintelligence are simply to know who they are, to know what they are doing, and to prevent their being successful by instituting disruptive practices or any other legal means permissible."

Thus, when the FBI in the 1960s responded to the rise in the Black liberation struggle with a campaign to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" the movement, it was merely operating in accordance with longstanding policy. It was, in fact, *absolutely routine.*

Wannall admitted that the FBI "engaged in disruptive tactics in its counterintelligence work at least as far back as 1942," the year he went to work at the SOG, or "Seat of Government," as the FBI agents call their headquarters in Washington.

*Continued on next page*



Drawings by Diane Jacobs/Militant

ge Thomas Griesa. Top right, Herbert Brownell, former attorney general under Eisenhower. Below, Robert Keuch, who was heart of government's case.

apply to grave matters involving the defense of the nation.

"It is, of course, well known that certain other nations have been engaged in the organization of propaganda of so-called 'fifth column' in other countries and in preparation for sabotage, as well as in actual sabotage."

Roosevelt directed Jackson to ignore the Supreme Court and continue to use wiretaps against "persons suspected of subversive activities against the Government of the United States. . . ."

#### War Opponents Targeted

What did the President have in mind when he spoke of "fifth columns" and "subversives"? This was explained to the court by the irrepressible Robert Keuch. These categories, he said, referred first of all to those "who were trying to influence public opinion to keep the United States out of war, to keep us neutral." (Fair warning to opponents of Reagan's moves toward military adventure in El Salvador!)

The SWP, which opposed U.S. entry into the Second World War, was one of the early targets of Roosevelt's assaults on democratic rights. Such attacks were then, as they are today, an essential component of Washington's war drive. Charges under the newly-enacted Smith Act were quickly framed up. Eighteen leaders of the SWP and of the Teamsters Union in Minnesota were sent to prison.

But the SWP was far from the only target, nor was it the main one. The massive labor upsurge that brought industrial unions into much of basic industry also brought the political police into action against labor leaders.

During the 1940 election campaign, Roosevelt put a wiretap on the phone of John L. Lewis, leader of the CIO and of the United Mine Workers. Roosevelt viewed Lewis as a special threat because of his

the President. We went over to the White House together. F.D.R. was delighted; and, with one of his great grins, intent on every word, slapped Hoover on the back when he had finished. 'By God, Edgar, that's the first time you've been caught with your pants down!' *The two men liked and understood each other.*" (This episode is recounted by Biddle in *In Brief Authority*, New York, 1962. Emphasis added.)

The scene is a classic: the president, the attorney general, and J. Edgar Hoover sharing a hearty laugh over the Bill of Rights getting raped. But after all, who was the target? Just an alleged Communist, a radical labor leader, an *alien*. The Constitution didn't apply, anyway.

In 1946, Attorney General Thomas Clark asked President Truman for approval to continue ignoring the Supreme Court ban on wiretapping. Clark, the great liberal, motivated his stand by citing "the present troubled period in international affairs, accompanied as it is by an increase in subversive activity here at home. . . ." Truman instantly gave the green light.

In 1954, Attorney General Brownell told the FBI to ignore a recent Supreme Court ruling that microphone "bugs" without a warrant were illegal. In a memorandum, introduced into evidence by the government at the SWP trial, Brownell wrote: "Obviously, the installation of a microphone in a bedroom or in some comparably intimate location should be avoided wherever possible. It may appear, however, that important intelligence or evidence relating to matters connected with the national security can only be obtained by the installation of a microphone in such a location. It is my opinion that under such circumstances the installation is proper and not prohibited by the Supreme Court's decision. . . ."

"I recognize that for the FBI to fulfill its important intelligence function, *considerations of inter-*



When the trial began, the government was still taking the stance of disavowing Cointelpro, without ever, of course, conceding that it was either illegal or wrong. When he testified early in the case, Justice Department spokesperson Robert Keuch even insisted that no one outside the FBI ever knew about Cointelpro, and that as soon as the Justice Department learned of its existence they put a halt to it. He said he knew of no legal basis for such activities.

But when the plaintiffs refused to let the matter rest and the judge made it clear he wouldn't be satisfied with vague generalities but instead allowed SWP lawyers to probe deeper and deeper, the government defense shifted. Their real position emerged.

Cointelpro, they insisted, was a totally legitimate use of government power in the defense of "national security." To back their claim, they were forced to dig deep into previously top secret files and produce documentation revealing that not only were the FBI's disruption techniques known to top government officials, but the president, the attorney general, and other top officials secretly instructed the FBI to step up these illegal activities.

In this way, previously secret documents of immense historical, political, and legal value were forced into the open.

### National Security Council

Herbert Brownell described an "extraordinary meeting" of the National Security Council held in 1956. Present were Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, CIA chief Allen Dulles, Hoover, and other government officials. Documents from the meeting, never before made public, were introduced into the record.

What emerges from this material is proof that top government officials agreed to expand secret disruption activities against the Communist Party and "splinter groups" (including the SWP) precisely because there was growing opposition in the country to using criminal prosecutions to cripple the CP.

Hoover, in his report to the meeting, stressed the problems caused by the growing public opposition to Smith Act prosecutions.

"To illustrate," he said, "42 prominent persons including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Henry Steele Commager and many others who should know better, recently signed a petition calling for amnesty for persons now serving prison terms for Smith Act convictions and a cessation of further prosecutions."

Hoover complained bitterly about court rulings "such as the Judge Youngdahl decision in the passport case of Leonard Boudin on November 22, 1953, and the action of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, San Francisco, California, ruling out the Coast Guard screening program on October 26, 1955. . . ."

The National Security Council's fears that the growing public opposition to prosecutions under the thought-control Smith Act would compel courts to overturn such convictions was borne out the very next year, when the Supreme Court, for the first time ever, reversed convictions of CP leaders under the Smith Act.

However, Hoover told the assembled officials, the government was not restricted to what they could get the courts to go along with. There was always the weapon of "counterintelligence." Hoover proudly reported, "[W]e have sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt the party. . . . Informants have been the key to penetration of the party. . . . we currently have 921 active informants operating in the security field, providing hourly intelligence reflecting the innermost plans and policies of the Communist Party."

### 'Presidential Directive'

Brownell testified that Hoover was talking not just about the Communist Party, but also about "those who were aiding it in various ways. For example, there were some splinter groups which sent representatives to international communist meetings, secret meetings, things of that sort. They were included in what we call the subversive groups who were operating secretly in conjunction with foreign powers." He stressed that the SWP was one of those "splinter parties."

Brownell was asked to identify "the source of the authority for the FBI to conduct the countermeasures as set forth in this page against the Communist Party and other subversive groups."

"Presidential directive," was the reply. He went on: ". . . I think the legal situation was that the President did not give any restriction to the methods that were to be used to accomplish the ends

that he sought. . . ."

In the Spring of 1971, the existence of Cointelpro became known to the public as a result of the burglary of an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, by some audacious and as yet unidentified souls.

In response, Hoover ordered a halt to the formal programs. But he directed that, "in exceptional instances where it is considered that counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains."

The overall formal program was being halted, as Raymond Wannall testified, solely because "information relating to Cointelpro had surfaced to the press. Therefore the programs had been compromised and they were therefore discontinued."

### Fakery of 'guidelines'

But don't the reform "guidelines" promulgated by the attorney general bring an end to these practices?

FBI Special Agent Edgar Best, who is currently in charge of the FBI office in Los Angeles, testified for the government as an expert in the handling of informers. Under cross-examination, he was confronted with one FBI document recording instructions given to an informer to play a part in "fanning the flames" of discord and discontent in a branch of the SWP. He was asked whether such instructions were properly within the bounds for FBI activities.

"There must have been something specific in the objectives of this particular investigation they were trying to achieve. . . ." he said. "Well, I would have to look at the totality of the investigative objective. I would have to know, what are we trying to achieve? Are we trying to achieve the break-up of a group? What are we trying to do?"

Best was asked whether the attorney general's guidelines on the use of informers contained any significant changes in what the FBI was allowed to do with its informers. He replied the guidelines "basically, with some very limited exceptions. . . . put into formalized writing what our general practices and procedures have been. . . ."

The transcript records the following exchange: "THE COURT: Are you saying that the guidelines in general simply embodied prior practices?"

"THE WITNESS: That is correct, your Honor."

Best was later asked directly, "Do you know whether these guidelines limit informers' activities with respect to disruption?"

"I don't believe they do in any specific language," Best replied.

### A 'Diversion'?

These are just a few of the admissions that were forced out of the government under the pressure of thirteen weeks of relentlessly pressing to get past the vague and slippery disclaimers, to get past the roadblocks thrown in the way, and to reach the real issues and real truth.

Nonetheless, they are enough to indicate that, far from going "awry," the trial itself was a giant step forward in the fight to defend the Bill of Rights. And this brings us back to the question of whether the strategy followed by the SWP allowed the case to be diverted.

The SWP believes that the source of the very real threats to our basic liberties is not an FBI gone out of control, but the government itself—a government that rules on behalf of a small minority, the bankers and billionaires in whose interests basic economic and political decisions that affect everyone are made.

It is a government that is today hell-bent on overriding the widespread antiwar sentiment and dragging the American people into a new Vietnam-type war in Central America. It is a government determined to make working people pay the price for the economic crisis by grinding down real income, gutting social services, and zapping the unions. And it is a government that understands full well that to combat the current future opposition to this domestic and international offensive, democratic rights have to be slashed. Black leaders, militant unionists, fighters for women's rights, and "fifth columnists" everywhere have to be dealt with.

If we are correct about the seriousness of the danger to our rights, then the folly of relying on the self-reform of the FBI, or such shams as the Attorney General's FBI Guidelines, is clear. The road to defending democratic rights lies in the opposite direction.

It points in the direction of advancing the mobilization of the American people to defend those rights as the crisis in this country deepens. Without such a mobilization, the finest court injunc-

tions in the world mean nothing as a barrier to government violations of our rights.

### Armed with the Truth

The essential step in advancing along these lines is arming working people with the truth about what has been, and is to this day, being done in the name of defending "national security" against "subversives."

The central purpose of the suit has been as a weapon to force out the truth. In the eight years of pretrial discovery and maneuvering, we were able to pry loose literally hundreds of thousands of pages of secret files, whose contents have since become known to millions of people.

At each turning point, we rejected the course that would have led to a narrowing of the issues in the case. We rejected suggestions from some well-wishers, for example, that we focus the case on proving "abuses" such as the formal Cointelpro program, and avoid tackling the issue of the entire "investigation" spanning forty years.

Had we followed such suggestions, we could never have forced into the open the fundamental truth about the organic connection between what became known as Cointelpro and all "intelligence" investigations of political targets. We would have given up the chance to lay bare the disruptive objectives and methods that are at the heart of the FBI's operations against its political "enemies." And we would have wound up weakening our chances of getting a court ruling that will nail down the maximum possible restrictions on FBI disruption operations.

For the same reason, we waged a successful battle to incorporate into the case as defendants the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department. These agencies play a major role in the illegal conspiracy to single out for adverse treatment non-citizens who hold the "wrong" views, or hang out with the "wrong" people.

We uncovered for the first time the existence of an entire program to deport "subversives" that is going on today. We focused attention on the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act that expanded the political police functions of the INS, paving the way for it to become today's thought-control police of the border.

### Political Views at Issue

Within this framework, it is clear that it would have been self-defeating to attempt to downplay in importance at the trial the revolutionary-socialist views of the SWP and the YSA. As the *Nation* itself points out, the government claimed that "its operations against the S.W.P. were justified because the party is a conspiratorial, revolutionary and subversive organization."

The response of the SWP to that contention was to argue before Judge Griesa that the views and activities of the SWP are fully protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution, and can't be grounds either for criminal prosecution or for permanent surveillance and investigation.

But to argue for this constitutional protection, the facts about what Marxism and Leninism mean to the SWP and YSA had to be presented. The full range of activities in which the SWP and YSA are involved had to be presented. This included what even the government concedes is "lawful activity," such as running candidates for office, as well as our "activities in the labor movement, in the struggle against racism, in the fight for women's rights, in the movement against war and the draft, and other arenas."

And it especially required a full discussion of the relationship between the SWP and YSA in this country and revolutionary groups in other countries.

Only by putting all of this information into the record could the SWP be in a position to fundamentally challenge the government's contention that they have a right to "investigate" us on the basis of our political views and activities, and that this does not constitute a violation of the First Amendment.

Regardless of the course the SWP chose, the government lawyers were determined to base their case on presenting a twisted version of the political views and activities of the party and its supporters. Thus, by taking the offensive and presenting in a clear and cogent way the views that the government has been trying for forty-five years to silence, we largely undercut government plans to accuse the party of hiding its true views and goals.

It was only by taking this approach that the trial could squarely and completely pose the critical constitutional questions at the heart of the case. An injunction from the court outlawing spying by



the FBI on a party that runs socialist candidates for public office, but ignoring the issue of whether the FBI can investigate a party that openly advocates socialist revolution wouldn't be worth much.

### 'Current State of the Law'

In taking this course of fighting to broaden rather than narrow the issues in the trial, we came face to face with the arguments now being voiced by proponents of the settlements in the Chicago and New York Red Squad cases. Efforts to ram through these settlements are being made by the government, with the eager assistance of some ACLU lawyers and others.

These arguments are well stated by Chicago attorney Richard Gutman in an exchange of views that appears in the same issue of the *Nation* that carried the critical editorial on the SWP trial.

Gutman urged support for the Chicago settlement on the grounds that the admittedly limited scope of the agreement with the FBI is in line with "the current state of the law." He says, "Although intentional disruption of lawful political activity is already clearly illegal, the legality of political spying is, at best, murky."

In response to those who argue that supporters of civil liberties should be leading the fight to protect democratic rights precisely in areas that are "murky," Gutman insists, "if the [Chicago] case were to come to trial, the current political atmosphere makes it extremely unlikely that any resulting comprehensive judicial limitation on C.I.A. or F.B.I. spying would survive appeals to the higher courts. Prospects are probably better for winning judicial restraints on agencies less involved with 'national security,' such as local police departments."

What a perspective! What if, in the early 1950s, the NAACP had insisted on restricting its legal strategy to the confines of "the current state of the law"? They never would have waged a battle over school segregation. The law on that issue wasn't even murky—"separate but equal" was the law of the land. Yet school segregation was outlawed as a result of legal battles that were part of a broad and militant civil rights struggle.

Gutman's line of argument is nothing but a cover for retreat and capitulation before the offensive against democratic rights being waged by the rulers of this country. If we were to hunker down and wait until the "time is right" to resist, we would—as the treacherous settlements in Chicago and New York do—concede even more ground to "national security" as the rationale for legitimizing the political police.

By not fighting back, we would demobilize our own forces, further weakening the struggle to defend basic rights. We would eliminate the gains that come from rallying all those who are prepared to fight, arming people with the facts about what is at stake, and countering government arguments at every turn.

Will the SWP's case ultimately be successful when it reaches the Supreme Court years from now? The question misses the point entirely. The case has *already* been successful, measured by the standard of deepening the public's knowledge about the crimes committed by the government against the Bill of Rights, and exposing the lies and secrecy behind which the political police function.

If the courts grant *none* of the things we are demanding, thus allowing the government to continue doing the things it has been doing for four decades, at least the American people will be armed with a piece of the truth about what democracy under capitalism really amounts to. And if, as is likely, we succeed in winning some parts of what we are petitioning for, those legal gains can be used in future battles by everyone.

### Settlement Offers

The government's "hard line" defense at the SWP trial was not a position freely chosen by them. It was not, at bottom, a move from strength, but a position they were forced into as each of their attempts to prevent the case from reaching the real issues was defeated. The Reagan administration did not decide to go into court and seek ratification for what the government has been doing in secret since the 1930s. They don't need court approval; they do it anyway. *And they don't want anyone to know about it.*

That is why their fundamental goal was to prevent the case from ever coming to trial, and their main strategy was to try to get the case settled out of court.

In the fall of 1980, settlement terms were offered to the SWP that were, in essence, the same as

those accepted by the attorneys in the Chicago and New York cases.

For example, one proposed sentence read, "The United States will not conduct an investigation of plaintiffs unless such an investigation is authorized under the Constitution, applicable laws, executive orders, regulations, and Attorney General guidelines." With this sucker-bait came a financial offer that, translated into final terms, was estimated at close to \$1 million.

In an October 21, 1980, letter to the Justice Department, Leonard Boudin, the SWP's attorney, replied:

"[T]he proposal fails to address in a meaningful way any of the fundamental constitutional questions posed by more than forty years of wrongful acts by the government defendants against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—acts which, we contend, are continuing to this day.

"It is inconceivable to me that SWP v. Attorney General could or should be settled without addressing the violations of the Bill of Rights by the defendants, and affirming the rights of the plaintiffs to be free of government harassment, victimization, blacklisting, and 'investigation,' whether of the Cointelpro type, or the more routine varieties. It is my view that Judge Griesa, who has spent several years supervising discovery in this action, will not approve any settlement of this case that fails to face these issues squarely.

"The Attorney General's office has been evading the constitutional issues posed by FBI, CIA, and other defendant agencies' wrongdoing ever since the major public revelations of the mid-1970s focused public opinion on these 'intelligence' agencies. Congress, despite many hearings and much discussion of a charter for the FBI, has not come to grips with these questions. Settlements like the ones reached in *Fonda*, and *Alliance to End Repression v. Chicago*, likewise skirt the issues that, from the standpoint of constitutional rights, are paramount."

### Government's Real Position

Boudin's letter put a definitive end to the government's settlement maneuver in the SWP case. As a result, the Justice Department was forced to come forward for the first time with its real positions.

For openers, government lawyers put down on papers filed in court the startling assertion that "the government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature." This brief phrase was the first statement in court of what would become the heart of the defendants' case: the unlimited power of the president to act to protect "national security."

The second move the government made as soon as it was clear they would not get their settlement deal, was to suddenly proclaim that even though no criminal charges have been filed against the SWP since 1941 the government has evidence of "loads" of illegal acts committed by the socialists. However, they argued, the evidence must be kept secret to protect the nation. They even submitted a secret file to the judge during the trial, and insisted that they be allowed to rely on its contents as part of their defense. After long battles over this secret material, the government was forced to withdraw it.

However, they have announced that they will seek to overturn any ruling in this case that goes against them by claiming they were prevented from defending themselves because they had to preserve the secrecy of vital evidence against the SWP.

The government's defense at the SWP trial exposes as a sham the public relations job that has been done to promote the "new" FBI as being "sensitive" to those constitutional rights. That is why these arguments were raised only when the years of government attempts at diversions were finally exhausted.

### National News Blackout

This brings us, finally, to the question that has puzzled and outraged so many supporters of the SWP case around the country. Why was there a virtual news blackout on a case that in the past drew so much news coverage?

Surely we cannot accept as a serious explanation the *Nation's* suggestion that the SWP's decision to ask Leonard Boudin to step aside during the trial led editors across the country to kill the story of this landmark case.

The blackout of news about the SWP case has been in effect for several years, despite critically important developments. In fact, with the excep-

tion of a brief flurry of news coverage in 1978 surrounding the dramatic move by Judge Griesa holding the attorney general in contempt of court for refusing to turn over FBI informer files, the case has been largely ignored by the major news media since 1976.

In that year, Attorney General Edward Levi ordered the FBI to halt its "domestic security" investigation of the SWP and YSA. At the same time, he issued the first of a series of guidelines for the FBI.

That was the turning point. It was the beginning of the government's plan to disarm the opposition to the secret police and divert it into endorsing the reforms being instituted.

Since 1976, almost the only national news coverage of "FBI spying stories" has been devoted to proposed and implemented settlements, more "guidelines," and the like. Liberal publications like the *Nation* have followed the same course, giving scant coverage to the SWP case in the past five years.

That there was a conspiracy of silence during the trial by the major news media can hardly be disputed. This resulted not from what the *Nation* suggests were "public relations blunders" of the SWP, and certainly not from any lack of objective news value in the story. It happened because the course of the trial ran contrary to what the owners of the news media wanted. That put it out of the "mainstream."

This brings us full circle. The main purpose of the lawsuit from the standpoint of the SWP and YSA has been to force out the truth. The main objective of the government has been to obscure that truth. They have lied, destroyed documents, and covered up illegal acts. They have claimed that their secrets must be protected in the name of "national security." They have tried to derail the fight by maneuvering opponents of the secret police into supporting the Attorney General's Guidelines for the FBI and CIA. They even tried to persuade the SWP to go along by offering a million-dollar deal.

But when all of these efforts failed to stop the SWP case, the rulers of this country simply tried to contain the truth behind a wall of silence. Thus, the news blackout was a crucial part of the government's "trial strategy."

Fortunately, this strategy hasn't been as successful as they would like it to be. Information on the trial has gotten out to a very broad layer, especially within the labor movement, the Black movement, and other arenas where activists are thinking through questions of how to fight back against the Reagan administration's offensive at home and abroad. A growing number of organizations and individuals around the country are rallying to this fight, precisely because they are learning how vital to everyone's rights the issues raised in this case are.

The growing sentiment for united action in defense of democratic rights is playing a major role in drawing together forces who have rarely, if ever, stood on the same platform before. Lessons from the past, when sectarian differences were too often allowed to disrupt united defense efforts, have had a big impact.

Recent backing for the SWP case registers these gains. Support from union officials, such as the UAW's Doug Fraser, is now being matched by resolutions of support from a small but growing number of union locals.

Expressions of solidarity from major civil rights groups, such as the NAACP, from leaders of the National Organization for Women, from activists in the antiwar and antidraft movement, and from other radical and socialist organizations have been coming in at a rate never before equalled.

The accomplishments of the case to date put its supporters in a position to expand the effort to mobilize even broader backing in the months ahead. The issues that emerged during the three-month trial will now be clarified even further as each side submits post-trial legal briefs to Judge Griesa in August and September. Then, possibly in October, the plaintiffs and the defendants will return to the Foley Square courtroom for oral arguments.

With this schedule, it is unlikely that Judge Griesa's decision will come down before the first of the year. And that decision, of course, will merely set the stage for the inevitable appeals.

The trial in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* capped eight years in the struggle to cut through the coverups and lies, and lay bare the truth about the nation's secret political police force and the government it serves. By arming defenders of the Bill of Rights with new facts, and forcing the government to openly defend actions it prefers to carry out in secret, the trial has set the stage for an expansion of this fight in the period ahead.



# A Day in Court

## Marxism and the Russian Revolution

The following article appeared in the July 27 issue of 'Intercontinental Press.'

By Tom Martin

NEW YORK—It is easy to claim history is on your side. But sometimes it really is.

That much was obvious from the testimony about the Russian revolution during the recent trial of charges brought by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against the United States government here.

The government claims that the FBI and other police agencies had the right to spy on and harass the Trotskyists because they were "subversives" plotting to overthrow the government by force and violence. As an example it pointed out that they supported what happened in Russia in 1917.

This interested Judge Thomas Griesa. When the matter first came up, he went home and sought out the relevant article from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. As he commented at one point:

"I do feel that we have gotten into history in a way that doesn't usually happen in a court case and so, in order to make it clear that I feel all of this is germane . . . the questions about the meaning of Marxism and the meaning of the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky are very important to the case."

"And where there may be difficulties in theory about the meaning of writings and so forth, I think it has occurred to me . . . that the actions of Lenin and Trotsky, the concrete actions they took, might be revealing of a full understanding of their theories—the application of Marxism under the circumstances."

### Police Hack vs. Scholar

So each side produced expert witnesses on the subject. And the contrast was quite extraordinary.

Appearing for the government was Prof. J. Gregory Oswald. He is not exactly a "name" among scholars of Russian history; most people have never heard of him. In twenty-three years of teaching at the University of Arizona, he has produced little or no original material, merely editing two books on Soviet foreign policy.

He has one set of credentials, though, which the government obviously thought far outweighed any strictly academic considerations: his past service in U.S. Military Intelligence. This included lectures to the troops during the Korean War on "Communism and world affairs."

The expert called by the SWP to rebut Oswald's testimony was someone rather different: Prof. Stephen Cohen, author of the best known biography of N.I. Bukharin, whose academic output took six pages to list.

Cohen testified that he was not a Marxist and has no connection with the SWP. But the demolition job he did on Oswald enthralled the whole courtroom—including the judge, if not the defense lawyers—for most of the last day of the trial.

### Police Theory

Oswald had put forward a typical police view of history. That is, that revolutions are made by small groups of people conspiring in secret to confound the will of the majority. Rather how the FBI operates, in fact!

According to this police professor: "Lenin did not believe in a mass party. He believed in a small, tight, exact, disciplined, professional, dedicated revolutionary party."

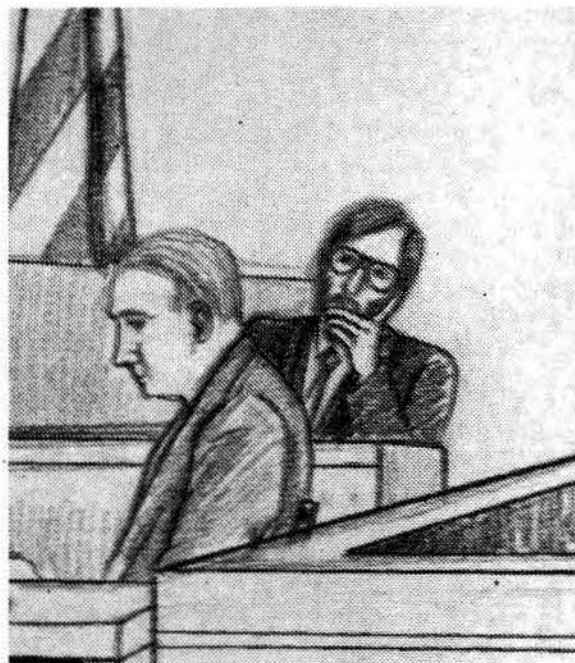
And you should have heard the way Oswald spat out each of those adjectives!

When he was asked to comment on an extract from the Transitional Program written by Trotsky for the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, Oswald could hardly contain himself.

Trotsky was explaining the importance of the Marxist program, which meant that sometimes, "the party can play an important historical political role not in direct relation to its numerical strength."

Oswald explained that this really meant that Trotsky "was virtually instructing his followers to think in terms of a small party."

Cohen was asked if Oswald's statement that



Prof. Stephen Cohen, with glasses, testifies in court.

Lenin did not believe in a mass party was accurate. His reply summed up the whole of the Arizona professor's testimony: "The statement is hard to respond to as it stands. It is quite wrong."

Cohen explained that there were indeed certain constraints on the party when it had to operate underground. But that was only a temporary, tactical consideration.

"In fact in 1917, when the despotism was overthrown and the country became a republic and elections began to occur, the Bolshevik Party became a mass electoral party."

"It went from about 18,000 members in, say, January-February 1917, which would be a small vanguard party, to a very large party of almost 300,000 by October, running, as we have seen before, in every election in sight and doing quite well."

### 'Revolution Involves Masses'

Oswald had tried to put across the idea that the Russian revolution was some kind of Bolshevik coup against the will of the vast majority. "This was not a popular takeover," he claimed.

But as Cohen explained, "A revolution involves masses of people doing something against the status quo and the existing order and . . . that was the salient feature of 1917, that it was ordinary people, the majority of the population, industrial workers, peasants and soldiers, who had been conscripted into the army as a result of World War I. These people struck out at the foundations of Russian society and they were the actors of the Russian revolution."

And how was it that the Bolshevik Party came to lead these events? Cohen explained that they were "the only major party on the scene that identified with this radical process."

"Every shred of evidence indicates," he said, "that this was an expression of popular sentiments."

Well, the judge was very interested—but how did it fit in with the theories of Lenin and Trotsky? In particular, what about the dictatorship of the proletariat?

To the mind of J. Gregory Oswald, the dictatorship of the proletariat meant that Lenin "decided that the Russian proletariat per se was not prepared to be involved in decision-making . . . and that the proletariat had to be dictated to!"

Cohen demolished this ludicrous falsification. On the contrary, he explained, the dictatorship of the proletariat was "an important idea of democracy" first developed by Marx.

He noted that Marx had asked himself, "if democracy is the good form of government, why is it so limited? Because democracy was limited everywhere by property rights and other rights or wherever there were tyrannies. . . ."

"It was his idea that when the socialist revolution came, that circumstances would be turned on its head. It would become a democracy for the majority and, during the short interval at least until

these kinds of politics were abolished altogether, a dictatorship over the former ruling class."

And how was this organized in Russia? Through the soviets. These bodies were quite a problem for J. Gregory Oswald.

### Role of Soviets

Oswald had made much of the supposed legality of the provisional government, which was based on "a legitimate governing body known as the Duma, or parliament."

The Duma a legitimate governing body? As Cohen pointed out, "The Duma had been elected last in 1914 by a very limited franchise. No one seriously took that as a national government."

And the provisional government wasn't elected at all; "it was appointed by the Duma," and then in fact "changed its nature monthly and sometimes weekly" without reference even to the Duma.

Cohen added: "The only elected bodies, nationwide bodies, or national elections that were going on in the country at that time were these soviets, were to the soviets."

The idea of soviets as a possible alternative expression of majority opinion was one that had intrigued Judge Griesa from the start. He didn't necessarily go along with it, but he could see that it was an argument which had substance.

So Griesa was keen to find out from Oswald where they fit into his version of things. In particular, what had been their attitude to the overthrow of the provisional government?

This really put Oswald in a fix. Well, he said, "The soviets did not disapprove of the seizure of power."

"Did they approve?" asked Judge Griesa.

Oswald wriggled some more. "They were in no position to approve or disapprove Lenin's seizure of power."

"That may be," said the judge. "Aside from that, did they do it?"

Oswald stonewalled some more. "The soviet was in no position to say yes or no." Then he tried to change the subject, mentioning the decrees on peace and land.

But Judge Griesa wasn't satisfied. "I don't get any clear picture of what happened in this," he complained. Finally Oswald had to admit that "the next day the soviet granted general approval to this idea"—though "they had no legal right to do so."

At last the judge was satisfied. "That's what I wanted to find out," he said. But as the whole trial showed, cops don't give straight answers—even professor cops.

### 'All Power to the Soviets!'

By contrast, Cohen was completely open and convincing in his explanation of the majority character of the shift to soviet government.

He described how the role of the soviets in throwing back Kornilov's attempt at a military coup in August 1917 "completed the process through which the majority popular opinion came to look to the soviets as their national government."

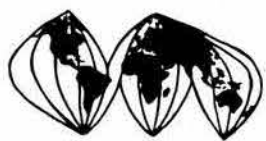
"That is, the slogan which had been around in 1917 since March or April, 'All power to the soviets,' which meant we don't need the provisional government, let's have a government of soviets, let's let the soviets be the new government of Russia—that slogan now became much more than a slogan. It had become for all practical purposes a kind of reality because the provisional government was now resting heavily upon the soviets."

So, Cohen explained, "at that moment, on the night of October 24-25, it is safe to say that that was looked upon by popular opinion as a transfer of power from the provisional government to the soviets."

Professor Cohen's long discussion of the role of the masses in the Russian revolution was a convincing rebuttal of Oswald's conspiracy theory—and showed why the SWP and YSA regard 1917 as a vindication of their politics.

But it also stood in sharp contrast to what the trial has revealed about the methods of government in Washington, which are the very opposite of democratic. History is a powerful witness!

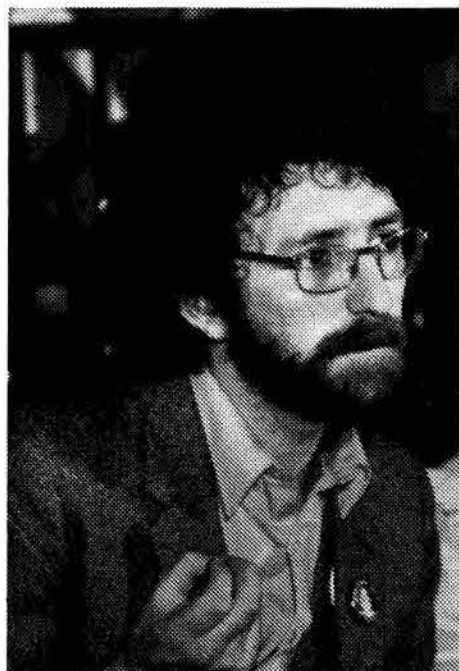




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# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS combined with inprecor

## How discrimination works in Northern Ireland



FERGUS O'HARE

Militant/Marc Lichtman

The following are portions of an interview with Fergus O'Hare and John McNulty, conducted by Jim Upton in Belfast in June.

McAnulty and O'Hare are both members of the People's Democracy (PD), the Irish Trotskyist organization, and were elected to four-year terms on the Belfast City Council in May.

They used their campaign to highlight the struggle of Irish republican prisoners in British jails for political status.

An interview with Fergus O'Hare, explaining the current stage of the struggle in Northern Ireland and the character of the election campaign, appeared in the July 20, 1981, issue of 'Intercontinental Press'.

*Q. The conflict in Northern Ireland is constantly presented in North America as one between Catholics and Protestants. Could you explain your views on this?*

O'Hare. The whole thing is historical. The British have been able to impose their rule on Ireland over the centuries by establishing a pro-British garrison in the country. It happens that the British garrisons were of a different religion from the native Irish.

The struggle today is concentrated in the six counties of the North—a border drawn up arbitrarily by the British to ensure a pro-British majority within its

confines.

As a result, the North has a minority population, which happens to be Catholic, that is opposed to British rule in the country. The majority population, which is Protestant, supports British rule. But the issue is not religion. The issue is British rule.

It is convenient for the British to portray the situation here as a sectarian struggle in which they intervene to keep these warring factions apart.

### Anti-imperialist struggle

But that is not the situation. There are something like 15,000 British troops in the North at the moment, and easily 90 percent of them are concentrated in Catholic areas. They are not concentrated on the border lines between Catholic and Protestant areas. They are concentrated inside the Catholic areas. They are not defending the Catholics; they are shooting them.

The troops are here to beat down the resistance to British rule in Ireland, which comes largely from the Catholic areas. That is the basis of the struggle. It is an anti-imperialist struggle, not a religious war.

McAnulty. The state in the North is based on sectarian bigotry and discrimination. The resistance to that discrimination, which is the resistance of the majority of the Irish people to an undemocratic and armed division of their country, is not sectarian.

All of the anti-imperialist forces in Ireland stand for a secular state and oppose any religious discrimination.

The charge of religious and tribal warfare is just a convenient smokescreen, one that is not really convincing, especially in Ireland where it has become clear to a lot of people over the years that Britain is not an impartial referee, but is rather the cause of the violence.

### Discrimination

*Q. In practice, how has discrimination against the Catholic population actually been carried out?*

O'Hare. The northern state was set up sixty years ago with an inbuilt pro-British, Loyalist majority. Roughly one-third of the population was nationalist or anti-British.

The Catholic population tends to grow at a faster rate than the Protestant population because of Catholic attitudes to birth control. The Unionist government decided that unless the growth of the

Catholic population was countered, Catholics would eventually become a majority and the Protestants would be outvoted.

They set about achieving their permanent pro-Loyalist majority by two basic methods.

One was to deny Catholics jobs. Catholics were forced into ghettos, but the factories were built in predominantly Loyalist areas and had a predominantly Loyalist workforce.

Even in areas where factories might have employed an anti-Unionist workforce, the owners of the factories, who were predominantly Loyalist, just would not hire Catholics.

If you had a "Catholic-sounding" name, you would not be hired. If they could not tell from your name, they asked your address. If, for instance, you lived in Ballymurphy, you were obviously a Catholic.

But if your address was in a mixed area, they simply asked you what school you went to. A school with a saint's name meant you were a Catholic and did not get the job.

This went on right up to the civil-rights period of the late 1960's—and still does, though not so blatantly.

Denying jobs to Catholics forced much of the Catholic population to emigrate.

The second way Unionists kept their majority was through massive gerrymandering of the electoral system. This was most blatantly seen in the elections for the local councils, which controlled things such as housing.

### Controlling the vote

In the sphere of voting, the Loyalists had many tools to maintain their control. For example, there was a company vote. If you owned a company, you might get six or ten votes, rather than just one. Since the people who owned the companies and factories were Loyalists, this boosted the Loyalist vote.

Also, only householders had a vote. The local councils, which controlled the housing, would not give houses to Catholics. In many instances, there were a number of Catholic families living in one house, but only one—the householder—had a vote. This disenfranchised a large number of Catholics and helped to reduce the anti-Loyalist vote.

Then they drew the electoral boundaries to ensure that Protestant votes were worth more than Catholic votes. Take an area like Derry, which has a large Catholic majority. They drew electoral boundaries so the whole Catholic

population was in one district. That district might elect five councilors. But the Protestant section of the city, which is smaller, might be divided into three or four electoral areas, each with three, four, or five councilors.

Because of the way the voting districts were drawn up, the Loyalists maintained full control over Derry, despite the big majority Catholic population.

### Civil rights campaign

This explains why the civil-rights campaign in the late 1960's had such a revolutionary potential. The demands of the campaign were for one person-one job, one family-one house, and one person-one vote. These demands challenged the whole discriminatory basis of the northern state.

If those simple democratic demands had been granted, the Unionist domination of the country would have been ended. That is why the Unionists attempted to smash the civil-rights campaign. And that is why the civil-rights campaign led almost automatically into a struggle for self-determination and for a united Ireland.

McAnulty. This statelet in the North always had a very strong tradition of Loyalist paramilitary violence. The entire history of the northern state has been marked by pogroms against Catholics that drove them out of certain areas and out of certain occupations.

In the 1920s a series of pogroms drove Catholic families from whole areas in the countryside. One example is the small town of Banbridge, which went from 40 percent Catholic in 1918 to 10 percent Catholic in 1922.

Another example is the Belfast shipyards, which employed some Catholic workers up until the late 1920s. But the Catholics were driven out of the yards by armed mobs. Some Catholic workers were killed and others fled by swimming across the river Lagan which runs through Belfast. From then on, the yards were exclusively Protestant.

That sort of Unionist paramilitary involvement continues to this day. It is a criminal offense to be a member of the IRA—you can get ten years for membership alone, even if you do not do anything. But it is not illegal to be a member of the Ulster Defense Association, which has carried out murders and military actions designed to terrorize the Catholic and nationalist population.

From Intercontinental Press

## 50,000 march to keep Spain out of NATO

The campaign to keep Spain out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took a big step forward on July 5 when 50,000 people attended an anti-NATO festival in Madrid. The festival also opposed the renewal of treaties granting the Pentagon military bases in Spain.

Spain's entry into the NATO alliance, according to the Spanish newspaper *Diario 16*, would involve the formation of a brigade of 3,000 troops to be sent to West Germany, the inclusion of 300 Spanish officers in the NATO military command in Brussels, and the increased use of U.S. bases in Spain for NATO operations.

In January there was a march of 20,000 people to the U.S. airbase at Torrejón, outside Madrid, to demand the removal of all bases.

The anti-NATO forces are also on a

campaign to collect 500,000 signatures to force the government to hold a referendum on the question of Spain's entry into NATO.

These protests and the planned referendum campaign are especially important given the half-hearted character of the opposition to NATO being put up in parliament by the two main workers parties—the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and the Spanish Communist Party (PCE).

The PSOE continually vacillates between its support for U.S. military bases in Spain and opposition to Spain's entry into NATO (although not to the alliance itself). It proposes putting off the decision on joining NATO until 1983, although the government plans to finalize the entry by the end of the year.

The Communist Party's opposition to NATO and the U.S. bases is somewhat

clearer than it had been until a few months ago. But it too favors postponing the decision on NATO membership until 1983 and separating the question of NATO from the bases.

Neither of these parties took part in organizing the July 5 demonstration. The festival was organized by local anti-NATO groups from towns in the Madrid area, women's organizations, ecology groups, and organizations to the left of the CP, including the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the Spanish section of the Fourth International.

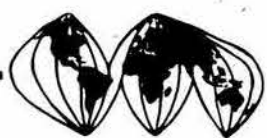
The Madrid demonstration is part of the strong opposition to NATO plans throughout Western Europe. That opposition has centered its fire on the 1979 NATO decision to deploy 572 nuclear-armed missiles, aimed at the Soviet Union, in Western Europe.

On June 20, for example, more than 100,000 people marched in Hamburg, West Germany, to protest the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in that country. Although Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is a strong supporter of the NATO missile deployment plan, his policies have been repudiated by important sectors of his own Social Democratic Party and especially by its youth organization, the Young Socialists.

At their June 26-28 national convention, the Young Socialists unanimously called for West German rejection of the new missiles, which are scheduled for deployment in 1983. Willi Piecyk, chairman of the youth organization, called on delegates to make next October's Bonn rally against the missiles the largest in West German history.

From Intercontinental Press





# What Poland's workers want

## Solidarity union draft program—Part III

Below is the last installment in a three-part serialization of the draft program of Solidarity, Poland's independent union movement.

The program was drawn up by a commission of Solidarity, discussed by its National Coordinating Committee, then published in 'Solidarity Weekly,' the union's national newspaper. It is now being discussed by Solidarity's more than ten million members.

In Parts I and II of this document, the union looked at the crises in Poland's government and economy, and made proposals for reorganizing both under the control of the workers. This week, Solidarity takes up two final questions.

The first is democratic rights. Violations of these involve probably the worst abuses of the Polish regime. This is well-known to American workers, and requires little explanation beyond that provided in the document.

Less well-known are Solidarity's views on the second big question it deals with here. That is, how it proposes to organize—and so far really has organized—a democratic, fighting union.

For Solidarity, union militancy depends on union democracy. As the authors of this draft put it, 'There is no better discipline in action than the unity of those who have participated in a comprehensive way in the making of decisions.'

Some American unions know this. Miners, for instance, know their right to

vote on contracts helped them fight off attempts in 1978 and 1981 to break their union. But their experience, unfortunately, is not widely shared within the American labor movement.

Virtually every top AFL-CIO bureaucrat says he is a friend of Poland's workers. But what would happen if some of the following proposals from Solidarity's draft program were made in his own union?

- Accountability of union leaders to the membership, including the right of members to recall leaders they don't think are doing a good job.
- Open negotiations between union leaders and management, so union members can know what both sides are saying.
- Open discussion within the union on all policies, including access by members to the union press.
- Wages for union officials not to exceed 'other wages in the national economy.'

Most top union leaders would oppose these measures—especially the one on wages.

For Solidarity, union democracy is only the beginning of unions becoming 'a source for extending democracy into the public life of the entire country.' And that is what Solidarity has done: become a political force in society.

The translation of this document and footnotes are by 'Intercontinental Press.'

—Steve Bride

### IV. Guarantees for the Future

#### 1. The rule of law

We regard as matters of fundamental importance the restoration of full respect for the law in relations between the state and society and between the government and the citizens, as well as the restoration of self-government and openness in public life. Achieving respect for the law is indispensable for the establishment of normal collaboration between Solidarity and the government authorities and to find a solution to the political and economic crisis in which Poland finds itself.

The rule of law means that the laws should express the interests and will of society, and that both the authorities and the citizens should be bound by them. No one can stand above or beyond the law. Legal concepts should govern the state, administrative, and economic apparatuses. Citizens and their organizations must also be subject to those concepts. Everyone should be equal before the law. Justice must be the same for each individual, without regard for the social or official positions they hold.

It is necessary to give back to the courts their high importance as bodies intended to judge conflicts not only among citizens, but also between citizens and their organizations and the state bodies. Since the courts are independent institutions, we regard them as the natural guarantors of civil rights and liberties.

The administration of justice requires compliance with these general demands:

- Broadening the jurisdiction of the courts so that they can decide on questions of encroachments on the political rights of citizens (freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and the press, etc.).
- Naming a constitutional court in order to make constitutional rights vital and respected.
- Appointing a state tribunal to judge people in high positions who have committed abuses, endangered the nation, or caused great harm.

We support the demand made by some sections of public opinion that the courts should decide on the use of preventive detention measures.<sup>1</sup> We also think that it is necessary to strengthen supervision by the procurators of the prosecution, in order to effectively protect the rights of defendants, regardless of existing procedures to assure their protection in the initial stages of legal proceedings. We

1. The police now have the power to detain anyone they want for recurrent forty-eight-hour periods of preventive detention, without having to file charges.

think that the procurators should be attached to the Justice Department and, like the government, be subject to the control of the Sejm [parliament].

We declare ourselves for the irremovability of judges and for cancellation of the universally criticized system of temporary terms of office for Supreme Court judges, which violates the principle of the independence of the judiciary. Another necessary condition for such independence is the proper selection of assessors to the various kinds of courts. The present method of appointing assessors does not guarantee that they will be selected properly. We think that assessors should be chosen through general elections, together with councillors on local and regional levels.

The administration of justice should be accessible to all. Therefore, it is necessary to abolish the profitable character of court fees and costs and eliminate the tendency of the Justice Department to try at any price to add to the government revenues.

The rule of law requires, in addition to supervision by the courts, supervision by society as a whole over the activities of the public security organs. The Sejm and the People's Councils<sup>2</sup> should regularly conduct open and public debates on the actions of these agencies. It is also necessary to assure social inspection of the procedures for handing down sentences

2. The People's Councils are bodies of local government.

and for control by the union over the working conditions of prisoners.

We demand the placing on the books of the full range of trade-union freedoms, which have been recognized through the ratification of the appropriate international conventions, including the right to strike and the right of workers to use other means for winning their just demands. We also insist on the inviolability of family farm ownership.

Since, as we have stated, the law should express the interests and will of society, it follows that the representative bodies empowered to pass competent legislation and resolutions should derive their powers from genuine elections. We think that it is vital to have new election laws for the Sejm and the People's Councils, laws that will guarantee organizations and groups of citizens the right to put up candidates for representatives and councillors, from among whom the voters can choose freely in electing their representatives.

#### 2. Openness in public life and the problem of censorship

An effective defense of the interests of working people—as well as other forms of civic activity—is not possible unless our public life is conducted in an open fashion. One part of this is the freedom to criticize and to speak out; another part is free access to state documents by citizens, as well as the opportunity to

voice and publish their views.

It is crucial that the authorities function out in the open, and not keep covering up behind a screen of official secrecy decisions that are harmful, self-serving, illegal, or even criminal.

Such freedoms and openness may be restricted only to safeguard the legally defined central values and interests of society in general; for example: against the expression of views that are offensive to the moral and religious feeling of society, for the protection of state secrets, and against the expression of opinions that could undermine international alliances.

It is necessary to define by law the permissible limits of interference by the censors, to subordinate them to judicial control, and to introduce the principle of visibility in the text that defines the censors' powers.

The placing of limitations on censorship must be accompanied by guarantees of public access to government-owned media, such as radio, television, and publishing, along with the provision of facilities necessary to enable all legal associations to carry out their own publishing activities. The mass media, in particular radio and television, should be subject to social control.

#### 3. The basis for selecting officials

Up to now, the personnel selection procedures have not assured the proper





selection of people for leadership positions, which are legally and exclusively reserved for members of the party. The party apparatus has final say over such appointments. This situation is a restriction on the rights of citizens, since a huge majority are thus discriminated against in the filling of leadership posts. Nor does society have any influence over these appointments. Many leadership positions are occupied by people who are neither competent nor enjoy any authority among the workers. This results in great losses to our culture, broadly considered, and to our national economy.

Given this situation, it is vital that leadership positions be made accessible as rapidly as possible to all citizens with the proper professional qualifications, with provision being made for social control over appointments to such positions. In this connection, administrative positions should be filled by people who are competent and who are accepted by the workforces at the enterprises. The principle of *nomenklatura*<sup>3</sup> can be employed only in relation to political positions.

#### 4. Local government—the People's Councils

We support actions favoring genuine local self-government. We especially support actions favoring autonomy in judicial administration, an essential condition for the independence of the judiciary. We also support actions favoring autonomy for higher schools and self-management for technical institutes, that is, conditions for the undisturbed development of scientific thought and the rounded education of new generations of specialists. We see in the independent student movement a genuine social power, which will be an influential factor in giving a democratic shape to the future. The union also expresses support for the aspirations of artistic, scientific, social, cultural, religious, and other organizations to have complete freedom of activity.

A separate question—with fundamental implications for the whole nation—is the assurance to the farmers of Poland of the full right to an independent and self-governing union movement enjoying the same prerogatives as our union. We will support the farmers in the struggle for their rights and give them all-round legal, organizational, and other assistance.

Finally, cooperative organizations are an important form of self-government, having a long tradition in our country. They should in return be worthy of their name.

Up to now, citizens have not in practice had any influence on the composition of the local government bodies, the People's Councils. Elections are to a great extent fictitious. Councillors do not have to solicit the support of the voters, and therefore do not adequately represent their interests. Thus far the People's Councils have not only failed to take adequate action on matters of interest to the people of their particular region, but in many instances have tolerated corruption, illegal privileges, embezzlement, and waste.

Our union, guided by its understanding of the best interests of working people, feels obliged to call upon the government to change this state of affairs. In particular, we must insist on the following:

- Changes in the election laws for the People's Councils, providing for a real choice of a representative from among several candidates.

3. The *nomenklatura* is the key institution by which the Polish United Workers Party maintains its hold over the most important institutions of society. It is a list of names from which party committees select people for appointment to key positions on the national, regional, and local levels. The list, which includes both party members and non-party members who are in favor with the leadership, is estimated to number about 200,000 names. Someone whose name is not on the list stands little chance of being appointed, no matter how qualified they are.

- Acceptance of the principle that anyone can run in the elections to the People's Councils if they obtain the backing of enough citizens.

- The holding of new elections to the People's Councils before the end of the current year, based on newly democratized election laws.

### V. Union Life

#### 1. The regional and trade structure of the union

Our union has not yet built up a complete organizational structure, but even today it can be said that its basic principle has been established—that of regional ties assuring mutual assistance and solidarity among working people in the different trades and workplaces of the region. The regional structure of the union guarantees the best defense of the workers' interests and provides the best conditions for negotiations with the authorities and administrators on the national, regional, local, and factory levels.

However, the union also fully appreciates that the overall groups in each occupation or trade have their own particular needs. Therefore within the framework of the regional structure, occupational sections have been created. These sections encompass factory union organizations based on specific trades, or interfactory organizations based on an industry. They form coordinating councils or commissions on the regional level, from whose initiative is derived the authority of the section for that trade on the national level. In this manner, the interests and needs of each category of workers should be protected in relation to the union's territorial units. On the other hand, the subordination of the trade and occupational commissions to the territorial and national bodies of the union assures the protection of the common interests of the working people.

The union faces a big problem in organizing these sections and commissions adequately and in working out the proper relations between them and the main leading bodies of the union—the regional and national bodies.

Among the main tasks of the sections are to draft collective labor agreements and other documents on matters relating to the problems of workers in a particular trade, in addition to initiating action on questions relating to professional qualifications, health hazards, safety and work hygiene, etc. In certain situations, the regional union authorities may also empower the trade or occupational sections to carry out other functions. In the day-to-day practice of the union, trade and occupational problems arouse very sharp feelings, both as a result of the traditions of the former trade-union structures and because of current needs. Therefore, questions relating to the proper relations of the section to the union authority, the division of labor and scope of their tasks, the methods of setting up leadership bodies in the trade and occupational sections, etc. urgently require wide discussion.

#### 2. The main principles of trade union democracy and activity

We want our union to be independent, and we know what that means. We want it to be self-governing and democratic, and to be a source for extending democracy into the public life of the entire country. The rules and the practical work of the union should reflect the principles that define the character of our union democracy and activity.

First, all members of the union are equal. Each one has the same rights and a single vote. Each one has the right to freely express an opinion on union matters. No member is better or worse than another, regardless of any functions they carry out that may temporarily give them powers to make decisions in the name of the rest of the members.

Second, the purpose of the union leadership is to serve and to represent the members. Each full-time official in the union is no more than a representative

authorized by his or her constituents to serve them and the union as a whole. They must provide regular and complete information to the members about what decisions are taken and why. They may also be recalled from official positions if that is what their constituents want.

The effective functioning of the union is impossible without provision for the necessary full-time staff, office space, and technical equipment. However, the difficult material situation of the country and the union and the bad experience with the former CRZZ<sup>4</sup> requires us to maintain a certain modesty and restraint in fulfilling these needs. It is necessary to economize in managing the union's finances. The wages of full-time officials should not be higher than other wages in the national economy.

Third, the life of the union is based on openness. The equal and representative character of official functions in the union acquires real meaning only under conditions of open activity at all levels of the union. In particular, all negotiations with the government and with the representatives of the [state] employer must be conducted openly. Every union member must have a chance to look over the documents of the union leadership and its bodies. They in turn must use all possible means to inform as many members as possible about the real problems and the measures taken.

The union organization and the factory circle have a special role to play here. Their task is not only to provide information about the positions of the union leaders, but also about the positions of individual organizations and the activities they are carrying out for the sake of the fullest possible information about the life of the union.

Fourth, the union acts in concert, on the principle of solidarity. This is the basis for the commitment of each self-governing workplace organization to the idea of general solidarity in action by all working people. This was seen most clearly in the strikes, in which each factory or region was ready to provide mutual assistance.

These universal ties of solidarity left a special imprint on our union. In our own interests, we decide to act in response to the interests of others. Maintaining this solidarity requires regular collaboration and the exchange of information among factory organizations representing different industries and different regions, regardless of which territorial leadership body of the union they belong to.

Fifth, members of the union are bound by its common agreements. The statutes of the union or resolutions of factory meetings are binding on all members of the organization, even if they voted against them. It is essential to adhere to decisions democratically arrived at, even when departures from them can bring some immediate benefit. Within the union, the rule of law—through our statutes and various resolutions that are establishing our precise internal legal structure—is indispensable both for effective action and for democracy.

This does not exclude criticism and debate. To the contrary, criticism and debate are signs of a healthy union. This regular criticism is vital in order to control the activities of the union and its individual bodies, but the changes resulting from such criticism should also be carried out in accordance with democratic principles.

Compliance in our union life with the above principles is not a simple matter. The need for collective action in a situation of constant threats and uncertainty may sometimes tend toward the need to place efficiency above democratic principles. But in reality, the union's democracy is its strength. There is no better discipline in action than the unity of those who have participated in a com-

4. Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych (Central Council of Trade Unions), the old party-controlled and bureaucratically-run union federation that was dissolved following Solidarity's formation.

prehensive way in the making of decisions. We therefore cannot allow a siege mentality to be imposed on us. On the contrary, it is just this defect in public life that we are struggling against.

Sixth, and finally, the union utilizes different forms of struggle to realize the interests of the workers. These include intervening in the case of disputes between workers and employers, raising demands before the employers and government, organizing and leading mass protest actions, etc. Strikes, however, play a special role. We must not forget that the strike is not only a method of last resort, but also a test of the union's prudence and solidarity. Therefore, we must have good reasons for calling a strike, and they must be seen as such by society. Moreover, there should be enough justification for calling a strike in relation to the social costs that it may entail.

As a guide to this, several principles are necessary:

A. The strike should be effective, and at the same time entail as little cost as possible.

B. The strike must have the support of society itself. In connection with this, information on the reasons for the strike must be circulated widely.

C. It is important to use strikes selectively, choosing those areas where a strike is most painful to the state employer and as painless as possible for the people. Strikes should spare those areas of the economy that supply the immediate needs of the people.

Another important element of union struggle is negotiation (with management or the government). In such talks it is necessary from the very beginning to make careful preparations and to know what to aim for. If, as is often inevitable, there are compromises, it is above all important not to allow them to lead to disputes within the union, but to solidify the organization by preparing for further struggle for its cause.

We must safeguard union democracy through various institutions and forms of activity. When dealing with union matters, the union press and publishing operations cannot be subject to censorship on the part of the union leadership. It has to be the source of regular information and criticism of shortcomings, which are certainly unavoidable.

We must also see to it that the flow of information within the union goes in many directions, providing constant, rapid, and detailed information to the lower bodies and ranks about the decisions and actions of the higher bodies, and also regular information to the higher levels about the needs and opin-


*Continued on next page*

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# Massive uprising shakes Morocco monarchy

By Will Reissner

In 1975, when Spain withdrew from its phosphate-rich colony in the Western Sahara, the Moroccan and Mauritanian regime rushed in troops and divided the territory among themselves. Since that time, the Western Saharan guerrilla forces, organized in the Polisario Front (People's Front for the Liberation of Saguiet el-Hamra and Río de Oro), have fought a tenacious battle against the new occupiers.

Unable to continue the military campaign, the Mauritanian regime dropped out of the contest on August 5, 1979, when it signed a pact with the Polisario Front renouncing all claims to the Western Sahara. But as Mauritanian forces withdrew, Moroccan troops occupied that part of the Western Sahara as well. Today some 80,000 Moroccan soldiers are bogged down in a stalemated military campaign against the independence struggle of the Western Saharan people.

In the initial stages of the war, Morocco's King Hassan II was able to draw virtually all the country's organized political forces behind the war effort. Using that support, Hassan stifled expressions of discontent with his regime for half a decade.

But more than five years of government-promoted national unity around the war effort was shattered in June when several days of fierce street fighting and general strikes rocked Morocco's major cities.

The spark that lit the powder keg was the sudden government announcement on May 29 that prices of basic foodstuffs would be raised 80 to 100 percent. This measure was the result of intense pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which demanded that Morocco cut food price subsidies as a condition for any more loans.

Early this year the IMF loaned Morocco \$1.2 billion to cover its big balance of payments deficit and to restructure its soaring foreign debt.

## Partial retreat

The announcement of price increases provoked an immediate outcry, forcing the regime to beat a partial retreat. The increases were cut in half, but this did not stop the opposition.

On June 18, the leadership of the Moroccan Workers Union (UMT), a federation that has close ties to the govern-

ment, felt compelled to call a general strike in Casablanca and its industrial suburbs to protest the price increases. The strike took place without incident, shutting down the city.

Two days later, on June 20, the Democratic Workers Confederation (CDT), which is close to the Socialist Union of People's Forces (USFP), called a two-day general strike for all the major cities. That strike shut down Casablanca, Rabat, and other centers.

As night fell on June 20, fighting broke out between the police and army and demonstrators in Casablanca. At least 200 people were killed in the confrontations. Some estimates put the total at more than 600 deaths. The violence came as army patrols began forcing shopkeepers to open their stores and blocked off poor neighborhoods to try to prevent demonstrations from spreading. Over 1,000 people were arrested.

The government also carried out a sweep of union headquarters throughout Morocco. More than eighty union leaders were arrested in thirteen cities. The offices of the Socialist newspaper *Al-Moharrir* were also occupied by the police and its editor was arrested in his home. Two other leftist papers were also closed down.

The explosions of June 20 and 21 expressed the rising discontent caused by the country's severe economic crisis and the regime's inability to end the fighting in the Western Sahara. In addition to tying down some 80,000 troops, the war effort consumes 40 percent of the national budget.

The economic crisis brought on by the impact of the war and the international capitalist recession also stems from the structural problems of the Moroccan economy—the lack of a thoroughgoing land reform, the low level of industrialization, the imperialist control over major sectors of economic life.

## 'Green March'

For a time Hassan was successful in maintaining relative social peace, despite the economic problems, by fostering nationalist sentiment around the occupation of the Western Sahara.

In 1975, as the Spanish colonial regime prepared to withdraw from the Western Sahara, Hassan organized a march of hundreds of thousands of Moroccan civilians to occupy the territory. This "Green March," which Hassan

presented as an anticolonialist action against Spanish control over a historically Moroccan area, was supported by every political group from the far right to the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS—the Moroccan Communist Party).

The fact that all these political forces rallied behind Hassan's takeover of the Western Sahara left the Moroccan masses without any leadership or organizations that would articulate their demands and organize struggles to halt the steady decline in living standards.

But a turn in the situation began in 1978 and 1979, with several general strikes and confrontations with the regime.

The working class has played a central role in this new situation. Phosphate workers, refinery workers, dock workers, health workers, and metalworkers have been in the vanguard of struggles for higher wages, better housing, civil liberties, and freedom for political prisoners.

If Hassan is to have any hope of stabilizing the social situation, he must resolve the war in the Western Sahara. More than five years of military campaigns have not succeeded in crushing the Polisario guerrilla fighters, who have been able to strike into southern Morocco itself on a number of occasions.

## Diplomatic offensive

While continuing to carry out military operations against the guerrillas, Hassan has recently begun a diplomatic offensive aimed at convincing the governments that provide Polisario with its main support—Libya and Algeria—to put pressure on the Saharans to give up their struggle.

In late June, Hassan accepted a recommendation by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that there be a ceasefire and referendum over the status of the Western Sahara. But that referendum, he contends, must take place while Moroccan troops continue to occupy the territory.

In addition, the Moroccan regime claims that only 74,000 people are eligible to participate in the referendum, while Polisario puts the population of the Western Sahara at nearly ten times that figure. Hassan's proposal would disenfranchise tens of thousands of Saharan refugees forced to flee by Moroccan attacks on the civilian population.

While Polisario has agreed in principle to a referendum, it insists that Moroccan troops and administrators withdraw from the Western Sahara before any vote takes place. The vote would also have to include Saharan refugees now living in camps in Algeria.

Given the economic problems facing Morocco, Hassan is resorting to the customary prescriptions of the IMF—imposition of austerity measures and sharp cuts in public expenditures. In an attempt to curtail future social explosions in response to such measures, the monarchy is seeking support from the reformist workers parties.

Hassan has, for example, promised to give the Socialist Union of People's Forces a larger role in parliament. But he warns that if the USFP withdraws from parliament in protest against the massacres, as it has threatened, he will outlaw the party!

Both the Party of Progress and Socialism and the USFP participated in Hassan's delegation to the OAU conference while Hassan's troops were still patrolling Casablanca following the general strike.

The reformists are under intense pressure from two sides. If they do not play along with Hassan, they are threatened with illegality and repression. But the workers have shown that they want an end to the austerity and repression.

If the political parties and unions are to retain any following among the Moroccan masses, they must respond to their sentiments. But the general strikes in June show that any action called by the reformists can result in much more than they bargained for.



# ...Solidarity union draft program

Continued from preceding page

ions of the members. It is likewise essential to disseminate information among individual union organizations in factories and in different regions.

## 3. The main functions of factory organizations

The bedrock of union life is the self-governing factory organization. Union organizations at higher levels represent the factory organizations and make democratic decisions in regular consultation with each factory labor union. Regional or national leadership bodies make decisions only on matters that are of interest to all union members.

Therefore, each factory organization must work out its own program of action. Four main types of issues are contained in such a program:

1. Actions to safeguard the rights, dignity, and interests of workers on the job. This is connected to control over the management of the workplace and its particular agencies. This requires continual control over working conditions and supervision of decisions regarding wages, promotions, transfers, compensation, benefits, and vacations.

The factory organizations act in defense of their members and in the interests of all workers, regardless of wheth-

er or not they belong to the union. They also attempt to encourage amicable relations among workers and try to involve them in organizing their work in an efficient manner.

2. Providing for the social and spiritual needs of union members and their families.

Factory organizations should plan different social activities with the aim of consolidating solidarity among the union branches and developing the individuality of union members. It is necessary, through collaboration with other factory organizations or specialized union agencies, to organize sport, recreational, educational, and cultural activities. Such common experiences can bring people closer together and prepare them for joint action in threatening situations, when the time comes for energetic struggle in defense of their rights.

Within the self-governing framework, each factory organization must develop its own ways to carry through these tasks. These questions are just as important as the defense of economic interests. That is why our union commits itself to the aim of developing the individuality of working people and wants to help them develop their spiritual and family lives. Therefore, the factory organization should encourage amateur

sport and cultural movements. It should try to get workers to participate in university classes, and possibly widen the range of subjects. It should also arrange free time for vacations and excursions and for different forms of celebrating union holidays together.

3. It is necessary to have an all-round discussion on how employees of the union factory organizations should be paid. All (or some of them) may be paid by the enterprise, which is legally obliged to release from their duties employees who are carrying out union functions. This solution can involve considerable financial savings for the union, and may be legally enforced on the enterprise. Another solution is to cover the expenses of the individual factory organizations through the union budget, a solution that would emphasize the total independence of the union. Factory workers employed by the union factory organization would take leaves of absence from the factory without pay.

In cases where the first solution is adopted, that of using for the factory organization full-time employees from the workplace, it is also necessary to decide whether these full-time positions should be reserved exclusively for union employees (secretaries, accountants, experts on wages and health and safety

matters, legal advisors, etc.), or may also be used for elected union activists.

4. Control over the broader activities of union bodies and collaboration with other factory organizations. It is the duty of every union member to see to it that his or her representatives are acting in accordance with the interests of the members and with the democratic principles of the union. In cases of improper conduct, criticism is essential. It may even be necessary to relieve union officials of their functions for improper behavior.

## VI. Conclusion

Solidarity is the main guarantor of the process of renewal. There is no other social force in Poland that can take its place in this task. In embarking on the road of renewal, we must have determination and we must be ready to make sacrifices. Either Solidarity manages to transform its social environment, or the old system will impose its norms and aims on us, cripple our efforts, and in the end absorb us, thus obliterating the hopes for a rebirth.

There is no retreat from the course we have chosen. We can only go forward, toward a complete renewal of the country.

February-March 1981



# ... Polish Communist Party Congress

Continued from back page

something more than fine words repeated endlessly over the state-controlled radio and television.

Despite Kania's pledges, most of the points in the 1980 accords have not been fulfilled. "We are still fighting for implementation of last year's agreement," Tomasz Moszczak, a leader of Solidarity at the giant Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, told me a week before the opening of the congress.

## Threats against Solidarity

Kania's speech, in fact, contained new threats against Solidarity.

In a clear attempt to foster divisions within the unions, Kania repeated his earlier condemnations of alleged "counterrevolutionary" forces within Solidarity, particularly those members identified with the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR).

According to Kania, "we see the line of division where the activity of Solidarity as a trade union ends and the activity of reactionary extremist groups begins, the group whose aim is to impart to Solidarity the character of a political party opposed to the socialist state. Such is the aim of the influence exerted on Solidarity cells by the KOR and all other Polish reactionary groups."

Solidarity has consistently rejected such blackmail attempts, recognizing that the authorities' attacks on the KOR are, in fact, aimed at the right of all Solidarity members—and every Polish citizen—to freely express their political views. "The KOR defends Solidarity; Solidarity defends the KOR," proclaimed posters in many Solidarity offices around the country.

Kania also directly criticized Solidarity itself. "The strike weapon is employed too rashly," he declared. "More and more facts bear evidence to the Solidarity trade union usurping for itself the right to make decisions on the state's managerial cadres. Many trade-union publications are aimed against the principles of our system, our alliances, and the party."

The PUWP, he added, would continue supporting the branch trade unions, the small remnants of the bureaucratic and party-controlled union federation that was dissolved shortly after Solidarity's formation.

The party first secretary took a particularly hard line against the growing movement for workers' control of the factories, in which members of Solidarity are taking a leading role. "The striving for the de facto takeover of economic power is in evidence," Kania declared. "We denounce this campaign resolutely."

Kania did not limit himself to attacks on Solidarity. He lashed out at all sectors of Polish society that are seeking to bring about democratic change.

## Students and journalists

The independent student movement, which supports Solidarity, was accused of "activity aimed against the principles of our system" and of "leading a part of our young people ideologically and politically astray."

Kania denounced "the tendency by some journalists and editorial offices to drift toward the extreme, toward negation and distrust of the party and the authorities." The PUWP's control over the press should be strengthened, he insisted.

In a reaction to the demands of the party rank-and-file for greater internal party democracy and the adoption of policies favorable to the workers movement, Kania called for "a struggle against ideological defeatism and submission to rampant spontaneity."

In an effort to give some force to his warnings, Kania reminded his listeners of Moscow's "profound concern" over the course of events in Poland, repeatedly stressing the Polish authorities' close ties to the Kremlin.

Kania even invoked the Soviet leadership's threatening June letter to the



Solidarity supporters rally in Gdansk, Poland

PUWP central committee, which included sharp attacks not only on Solidarity, but also on Kania's handling of the situation.

In effect, Kania was appealing to Moscow to ease up on the pressure, pledging that the Polish authorities would themselves keep a rein on the workers movement.

## 'The bureaucracy remains'

Much of the deliberations of the congress were taken up with the selection of a new party leadership. Although Kania and several other top leaders were returned to their positions, many were not. An overwhelming majority of the members of the central committee and political bureau are new.

This was a result of the enormous strains on the party, the discrediting of a whole layer of former leaders, and the pressures from the ranks of the party for internal party democracy. Because of the demands of the ranks, the rules for electing congress delegates and party leaders had been altered several months earlier, limiting the leadership's ability to hand-pick who would be chosen.

A big majority of the 1,964 delegates, elected during the preceding regional party congresses, had never attended a national PUWP congress before. Of the 142 previous central committee members, only 43 managed to get elected as delegates and thus have a chance for reelection to the central committee.

Of those forty-three, there were a number of significant casualties. Tadeusz Grabski, who just a month earlier had led a Soviet-backed drive against Kania, failed to retain his seat. Nor did Andrzej Zabinski, another leading hard-liner, and Stanislaw Kociolk, known as the "butcher of Gdansk" for his role in the massacre of hundreds of workers during the December 1970 strikes in that port city.

Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, a powerful behind-the-scenes figure, was also eliminated, as was Tadeusz Fiszbach, the party first secretary in Gdansk and one of the most vocal party advocates of compromise with Solidarity.

Only four members of the outgoing political bureau survived: Kania, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and Stefan Olszowski, who has very close ties with Moscow. The newcomers include Albin Siwak, a notorious opponent of Solidarity, and Zofia Grzyb, a member of Solidarity.

Overall, the composition of the new central committee and political bureau

reflects a strengthening of the Kania wing of the party leadership, both against the demands of the Polish workers themselves, and against the Soviet pressures to adopt an even harder line toward Solidarity.

Commenting on the new faces in the party leadership, a Solidarity leader at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan stated a few days after the congress, "Some people are new. But the bureaucracy still remains the same."

## Setback to ranks

One of the main reasons for the congress's failure to adopt a new course was the success of the authorities in containing the demands for democratic change among the party ranks.

With about one million of the party's three million members also belonging to Solidarity, the pressures for change within the party began to surface on a wide scale earlier this year. Rank-and-file activists in various parts of the country—often coming from the large factories—initiated discussions with each other and organized a democratic current known as the "horizontal structures."

This movement made gains in some areas during the regional party congresses. In Poznan, for example, Edward Skrzypczak, a supporter of the horizontal structures and the party secretary at the giant Cegielski metalworks, was elected regional first secretary, although conservative officials were able to gain a majority on the regional party committee. The situation was similar in Gdansk, Wroclaw, Torun, Szczecin, Krakow, and several other parts of the country.

Four draft programs were drawn up by regional party bodies in Poznan, Krakow, Gdansk, and Wroclaw, in opposition to the one proposed by the outgoing central committee. While the central committee program is extremely vague on the kind of economic, social, and political reforms envisaged for the country, the regional ones were more concrete and far-reaching.

The Poznan program, among other things, condemned the party's "non-Marxist course," "Stalinist errors," and "centralist degeneration." It proposed new democratic party structures, the elimination of material privileges for party leaders, and the right of members to freely discuss all questions. Its suggestions for economic and social reforms touched virtually all problems facing Polish society. The program insisted

that "democracy is the only form of state in which the socialist system can materialize."

But with the party leadership still in control of the bureaucratic apparatus, it was able to break the momentum of the horizontal structures. An important factor in this was the Kremlin's June letter, which the authorities used to intimidate the rank-and-file activists. In Torun, Zbigniew Iwanow, an early leader of the movement, was forced to withdraw as a candidate for congress delegate. In Warsaw, Katowice, and elsewhere, the conservative forces within the party gained a strong hold.

The rank-and-file movement thus gained very little direct representation at the congress itself.

Some critical voices were heard from the congress floor and a few advocates of collaboration with Solidarity managed to gain election to the central committee. But the plenary discussions were relatively lifeless. The draft political resolutions drawn up by the four regional party congresses did not reach the floor.

## Powerful tide

While the authorities have been able—for the time being—to strengthen their hold over the party, they have had much less success in stemming the Polish revolution as a whole.

From one end of Poland to the other, workers, farmers, students, women—virtually the entire population—are organizing themselves and advancing demands for democratic and economic rights.

Students have held several conferences in recent weeks to discuss ways to advance the campaign for the release of all political prisoners. In Lodz, women have announced plans for a march to protest the chaotic food situation, as has the Solidarity branch in Kutno. In Walcz, workers are demanding that a party building be converted into a kindergarten. In some cities, people concerned about pollution and ecological problems are forming environmental groups.

Independent publishers are printing scores of uncensored books, pamphlets, and magazines each month, covering such diverse figures as Jozef Pilsudski and Leon Trotsky, reprinting documents from the Stalinist purge trials of the 1940s and 1950s, and discussing the most immediate problems facing the Polish nation.

Continued on next page



# Atlanta indictment: many questions remain

By Tom Fiske  
and Maceo Dixon

ATLANTA—In keeping with the pattern of secrecy and cover-up, Wayne Williams, a twenty-three-year-old Black youth, was indicted by a grand jury in two of the twenty-eight cases of murdered youth in Atlanta. Williams was indicted Friday, July 17, not just for the murder of Nathaniel Cater, which was expected, but also for the murder of Jimmy Ray Payne, the twenty-sixth victim on the long murder list.

The Atlanta cops have only weak, flimsy, and circumstantial evidence against Williams. His case from the beginning has posed a number of unanswered questions:

Why aren't there any witnesses?

What value is the "evidence" of the microscopic fibers found on the bodies of the victims?

What role did the FBI and the White House have in pushing for the arrest of Williams?

The indictment of Williams for Payne's death was a closely guarded secret within the Fulton County District Attorney's office. Even Williams's attorney, Mary Welcome, was taken by complete surprise.

The second indictment was a clear move to reinforce the case against Williams and take the pressure off the cops and government officials. There is widespread questioning in the minds of working people in Atlanta.

The Black community still fears for the safety of its children. Black parents still keep a close watch on their children and take every opportunity to enroll them in recreation programs or summer camps. In everyone's mind, Atlanta's nightmare is not over.



Protests like this one in San Francisco last April against the killings of Black children in Atlanta have occurred in cities across the country.

Two prominent Atlanta Black leaders, Caroline Long Banks and Osei Alimaya, have spoken out against the way the government—city and federal—has handled the Williams case and two-year investigation. Banks and Alimaya were

at the national convention of the National Conference of Black Lawyers held in Atlanta July 16-19. The conference was in session as news of the indictment came.

Carolyn Long Banks, a member of the

Atlanta City Council, explained how she received harassment from the federal government because she questioned the guilt of Williams.

She said, "I got a call myself from authorities high up in the federal government. Orders came from the White House to close this immediately. It had gone on long enough, the summer was approaching, and the natives were restless. I was told by the federal government that there was enough evidence to indict him and it wouldn't be in my best interests to pursue this any further."

Osei Alimaya, a member of the Atlanta National Conference of Black Lawyers, helped build support for the March 15 demonstration in Atlanta against the racist murders.

According to Alimaya, "Aside from the guilt or innocence, there is skepticism in the community on the guilt of Wayne Williams. There are rumors of scapegoating. The view of the city fathers is to keep things cool and there is credence to this."

Agreeing with Alimaya, Andreé Kahlmorgen, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, explained, "The government, from the beginning, has been dragging its feet about establishing an investigation, informing the public of its findings, or taking measures to protect Black youth here."

Some of the truth may emerge when Williams goes to trial in the fall. But until the cops and government drop the secrecy and make all the facts public, it is unlikely that the murders of Atlanta's Black youth will be definitively resolved.

## Unity is theme at rally for Irish freedom

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—Two hundred people participated in a July 11 solidarity rally for Ireland's hunger strikers. The spirit of the Irish freedom struggle's supporters was demonstrated by dozens of prolonged standing ovations for the speakers and singers.

The featured speaker was Fergus O'Hare, a member of the Belfast City Council who was recently elected on a platform that centered on support for the hunger strikers. He is a member of People's Democracy, the Irish revolutionary Marxist group, and is currently on a U.S. speaking tour on behalf of the hunger strikers.

But before O'Hare took the floor, representatives of various organizations declared their solidarity with the H-Block and Armagh prisoners. The messages they brought manifested a significant unity—both within the Irish movement itself and among movements of other oppressed peoples—behind the hunger strikers and their demands.

Maureen Lynott of the New York City H-Block/Armagh Committee, which organized the rally, pointed to recent urban rebellions throughout England as

evidence that British imperialism's chickens are coming home to roost: "This monster has wreaked havoc all over the globe and is now feeling it in its own cities."

Frank Murray, also of the H-Block/Armagh Committee, announced an August 8 demonstration in New York in support of the prisoners, and appealed for activists to join in building the action.

Two representatives of the mid-Manhattan unit of Irish Northern Aid, David Gould and Veronica Pugh, brought greetings to the rally and stressed the importance of recent signs of a growing unity within the movement in this country in support of the Irish freedom struggle.

Gould recounted how important the H-Block/Armagh Committee's participation had been in recent demonstrations organized by Irish Northern Aid. "To fight for freedom," he said, "is not the right of any individual or single organization. We are all in it for the same reasons. Our prisoners must go free and our country must be united."

Veronica Pugh of Irish Northern Aid declared, "We appreciate the opportunity to work with you and support your demonstrations."

The applause that greeted these remarks indicated the depth of sentiment for a united response to British repression and oppression in Northern Ireland.

The solidarity of other oppressed peoples with the Irish struggle was inspiring. David Ndaba, representing the African National Congress and the South West Africa Peoples Organization, said, "We bring you messages of solidarity and condolences from the women and men of Namibia and South Africa."

He pointed to the similarities between the struggles in Ireland and southern Africa, particularly the roles of British imperialism and of colonial settlers in enslaving native populations.

Reverend Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick sang and spoke with a similar message. In the tradition of the Black civil rights movement, he led the rally in singing "Oh, Freedom," slightly altering the words to say, "Before I'll be a British slave, I'll be buried in my grave."

Fergus O'Hare, the main speaker of

the evening, described the rally up to that point as a "most moving and deeply inspiring experience. If I can take even a small part of the feeling of this meeting back with me to Ireland and explain what you're doing here, it will boost the spirits of the people there in the hard struggle that they're going through."

He emphasized the importance of counteracting lies and confusion spread by British propaganda about the hunger strikers. That, he said, was the purpose of this tour—to get out the truth and build international support for the prisoners and their just demands.

Other speakers included Joe Grennan of the Irish National Caucus, and Carol Connolly of the Minnesota Irish Caucus. A message was read from the British Troops Out Movement, which calls on England to immediately withdraw its military forces from Ireland, and a statement was read on behalf of Dessie Mackin, an Irish prisoner in a New York jail who is being threatened with extradition. George McLaughlin, who has been accompanying Fergus O'Hare on his tour, made a plea for funds that raised several hundred dollars.

## ... Poland Communist Party Congress

Continued from preceding page

Even the democratic activists within the party are continuing to hold discussions, print materials, and organize themselves.

In many large enterprises in Gdansk, Warsaw, Lublin, Lodz, Katowice, and other cities, workers are taking steps to set up democratically-elected workers councils to manage their factories.

On July 20, the day after the conclusion of the party congress, representatives from 122 factories in the Warsaw area met to discuss organizing a regional body of workers self-management organizations. Plans are underway for a national conference on self-management in late August.

In the Polish national airlines (LOT), workers elected their own director, Bronislaw Klimaszewski. The government initially refused to recognize their choice, and instead appointed Gen. Jozef Kowalski as director, arguing that the airlines had to remain under government control for military reasons. The LOT workers held a four-hour "warning strike" on July 9 and won support from some factories around the country.

Finally, on July 23, the government agreed to a compromise formula proposed by the workers self-management committee: that Kowalski be the overall director, while Klimaszewski become the managing director responsible for

the airline's economic affairs.

In a similar manner, the government was compelled on July 22 to grant improved social security benefits and other concessions to the dockworkers in the Baltic Coast shipyards. This followed a brief strike by 20,000 dockers on July 8, and the threat of a major strike by 40,000 dockers that had been scheduled for July 23.

Thus, despite Kania's threats against the Polish workers, the party authorities are still too weak to seriously consider a major offensive against Solidarity.

Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski acknowledged as much during

the congress. "I believe that the line of agreement was indispensable and still remains indispensable," he said. "The only alternative would be a massive conflict, a clash between the authorities and the majority of society, a bloodbath, after which we would still confront all the problems facing us, only they would become far more dangerous."

However much the Polish bureaucracy would like to crack down—and may even be driven to attempt it—Solidarity remains a mighty force, with the backing of the vast majority of the Polish people. Kania knows that the outcome of any confrontation could not be assured.

From Intercontinental Press



## Phony 'free election' call

# Behind Washington's new tone in Salvador

By Nelson González

In a speech before the World Affairs Council July 16 Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, said that the Reagan administration now favors a "political solution" to the Salvadoran civil war.

Why the change from the strident tone of earlier administration statements? And how much does Enders's verbal shift amount to in practice?

Enders's stance was motivated, according to the July 17 *Washington Post*, by "a growing feeling within the administration that its policy in El Salvador had gained little popular support in this country or among U.S. allies and that a new effort had to be made to change perceptions . . . by dropping the Cold War rhetoric and emphasizing the more positive aspects."

In particular, the administration knows that the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, which has the support of the big majority of the people, has gained ground through its stance of favoring a peaceful settlement. Reagan's rejection of such proposals has drawn fire from figures like French President François Mitterrand.

In fact, however, Enders's proposal for a political settlement is nothing but cover for continuing the U.S.-backed terror against the Salvadoran people.

Enders endorsed the Salvadoran junta's call for "free elections" to a "constituent assembly" in 1982 and for the presidency in 1983. These elections are to be run by the same junta that has killed tens of thousands since it came to power in late 1979. More than 25,000 people have died in El Salvador in the past nineteen months, 11,000 of them in the past six months.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front would be excluded from the elections. Instead, the junta claims to have recognized two components of the FDR, the Revolutionary National Movement led by Guillermo Ungo (head of the FDR) and the National Democratic Union. The junta states that it will not permit Ungo to seek the presidency.



Junta's poll-watchers prepare for elections

As the promises of "free elections" were being broadcast around the world, the Salvadoran armed forces showed their intentions by issuing a list of 134 "traitors to the fatherland" including a wide range of figures considered opponents or critics of the junta. Among them was Ungo.

Since the armed forces are known to control the paramilitary death squads in El Salvador, the list amounted to a hit sheet of targets for murder.

The circumstances show the "free election" promise to be nothing more than a crude maneuver aimed at splitting the FDR and counteracting its popularity.

So far there is no indication that the Revolutionary National Movement or the National Democratic Union are

willing to accept the junta's deadly "recognition."

As part of its face-lift, the junta announced plans to lift the curfew and the "state of siege" before the elections.

But "preemptive strikes" against sections of the civilian population thought to sympathize with the opposition continue. The military's "scorched earth" policy has created tens of thousands of homeless refugees in recent months.

As one Salvadoran businessman put it, "How can there be elections? What are we going to do? Campaign with loud speakers on top of our armored cars?"

The promises of "free elections" are even more obviously fake than the economic reforms which have been touted as proof of the junta's "progressive" character.

"Agrarian reform" has left the overwhelming majority of coffee-growing lands in the hands of a few rich growers. The "reform" has been little more than a cover for oppression of the peasants.

The junta has now extended for six months a wage freeze imposed on Salvadoran workers.

Early in July Guillermo Díaz Salazar, minister of the economy, resigned and flew to Miami. He cited an economy on the verge of collapse as his reason for resigning.

"Land reform," "free elections," and "pacification"—the catchwords being used by the Reagan administration to defend its deepening intervention in El Salvador—are the same ones used by previous administrations to get the American people into a war in Vietnam.

Washington's latest maneuvers are clearly aimed at undercutting moves to foster a political settlement involving the FDR. As the July 18 *New York Times* reported, "Mr. Enders made it clear that the United States supports elections and rejects negotiations among the warring factions."

FDR leader Rubén Zamora explained July 22 that the real intent behind American policy is a "search for the junta's military victory over the Salvadoran people."

He reiterated the FDR's call for a "comprehensive process of political negotiations involving the FDR-FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] and the Salvadoran government."

"Elections could be discussed as part of the comprehensive solution," he said.

The July 16 *Christian Science Monitor* provided evidence that Enders's talk about a "political solution" is cover for escalating U.S. military intervention: "... a significant increase in military aid over the long term is under discussion. Such aid could involve providing El Salvador with US-built fighter-bombers and nearly doubling the size of the Salvadoran Army."

## Court exempts Ohio SWP from disclosure law

By Bob Merel

CLEVELAND—A three-judge federal panel here ruled that the provision in Ohio's election law requiring campaign committees to turn over names and addresses of contributors is unconstitutional as applied to the Socialist Workers Party. The unanimous ruling came June 25.

Lynda Joyce, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, said, "This decision is a blow against government attempts to silence voices that oppose their policies."

"This is a victory not only for the SWP, but for the labor movement and the Black community."

The current trial in New York of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the FBI and other federal agencies had a big impact on this case. The massive evidence of FBI abuses in the New York case was cited in the decision here.

The court accepted into evidence the full text of the "Breitel report." Prepared by a federal judge as part of pretrial proceedings in the suit against the FBI, it outlined the activities of fourteen FBI informers in the SWP.

The three judges ruled that "although these documents refer to events which occurred in 1976 or earlier, this past harassment is a chilling reminder to those who might support this unpopular cause in the future."

American Civil Liberties Union attorneys Thomas Buckley and Ben

Sheerer, representing the SWP, presented evidence to the court last February.

The evidence also included hundreds of pages of documents from the Cleveland FBI office obtained through this case. They reveal massive spying and harassment:

- The FBI had informers in local banks to get all party financial records.
- The FBI tried to block the distribution of literature at a union conference.
- They made a massive attempt to list and track down every single person who attended the 1971 SWP convention at Oberlin, Ohio.

The court heard evidence that two SWP members were fired by the ALCOA company here on the last day of their probation in 1980. Before the two were fired, the plant personnel director took the unusual step of consulting with the home office of ALCOA in Pittsburgh, and with a suburban police department.

An ALCOA official admitted in court that the two had been fired because of their politics. He also admitted that the socialists had perfect work records.

The court also heard evidence of two Cincinnati socialists fired for supposedly disrupting production, even though the disruption was caused by right-wingers who were harassing them.

Further evidence was admitted on the firing of several Lockheed workers

in Georgia for their socialist views, and on the attempted firing of five socialists at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Attorneys for the SWP cited the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*. That ruling said, "The evidence offered need show only a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats, harass-

ment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties."

Under the impact of this ruling, the federal government was forced to exempt the SWP from disclosure requirements. Many states subsequently followed this example, but others, as in the case of Ohio, did not. This new ruling will give additional incentive to remaining states to exempt the SWP.

## Socialist office burns in Canada; investigation demanded

The building that houses the Hamilton, Ontario, offices of the Revolutionary Workers League and the Young Socialist Organizing Committee was destroyed by fire July 24.

The RWL and YSOC are Canadian sister organizations of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The fire occurred while RWL and YSOC members were attending the convention of the RWL in Montreal. The offices, located in the basement of the burned-out building, suffered more than \$5,000 in damage.

The fire department has refused to undertake a serious investigation. The RWL and YSOC are demanding a thorough investigation of the possibility of arson, and full disclosure of the results.

The blaze follows a fire at the apartment of Elizabeth Rowley, secretary of the Hamilton Communist Party. Officials admit that this fire, which did severe damage, was deliberately set. It came after several weeks of threats to Rowley by persons believed to be supporters of the Ku Klux Klan. Rowley had campaigned for public office on a platform that called for putting a stop to Klan activity in Hamilton.

The RWL had publicly denounced the attack on Rowley.

The RWL held a news conference in front of the burned-out building July 27. Rowley and Michael Davison, head of the Hamilton New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), joined RWL leaders in demanding a full investigation.





**Our rational social system**—LONDON (AP)—The Department of Trade announced yesterday that the costly Concorde supersonic jet will continue operating because it would cost too much to scrap it. The plane has already cost taxpayers nearly \$1.57 billion.

**Cultural note**—Henry Kissinger has joined the board of 20th Century Fox Film Corporation. Other board members include two lawyers, an accountant, and Gerald Ford. (And it's not true that Ford can't watch a movie and eat popcorn at the same time.)

**And vote a price increase**—In the event of a nuclear war, company bylaws permit the board of directors of Exxon to function with a reduced quorum. The emergency bylaws also permit the board to coopt nondirectors who are "alive and available."

**Tough situation**—New York police officials expressed concern that continuing inflation and the high cost of alimony in numerous broken families could lead to increased corruption among the city's "finest."

**And if you're stoop-shouldered?**—*Making the Man*, a guide to proper dress, \$9.95, advises that jacket lapels "should extend to just a fraction less than the half-way point between collar and shoulder line."

**Unreasonable**—An M-1 tank, which you could pick up for \$500,000 in 1972, now goes for \$2.5 million. The Army, which is ordering 7,100 of them, will have to shell out more than \$18.5 billion. And yet you have people grouching about trimming Social Security payments.

**Un-American**—After a ten-year study, the Federal Trade Commission decided that funeral homes should be required to provide customers with itemized price lists, and that they be barred from requiring caskets for cremations.

**No liquidity problem**—We got it by way of Australia, but we're seriously thinking of switching our investments from gold to Scotch. The value of Scotch whiskey maturing in vats in Scotland is reported greater than the value of gold in the vaults of the Bank of England.

## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### Forty years ago: a 'racial pogrom' in U.S.

On July 14, a nine-member federal commission began hearings in Washington to help decide whether to give compensation to the 110,000 Japanese-Americans who were forced into concentration camps on the West Coast during World War II.

Former Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas described it as a "nationally humiliating story." Fortas, who testified at the commission hearings, said, "I can not escape the conclusion that racial prejudice was a basic ingredient."

In December 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt declared war on Japan after the attack on Pearl Harbor. He also declared a war of racism and hysteria against every person of Japanese ancestry living in the United States.

Japanese-Americans were portrayed in the media as "treacherous" people, terrorists whose loyalty was to the Japanese emperor.

"The Japanese race is an enemy race," declared General John DeWitt, Army commander of Western Defense.

Then, in February 1942, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, empowering the Army to evacuate "enemy aliens" from all "military areas." It was for their own "safety," he assured.

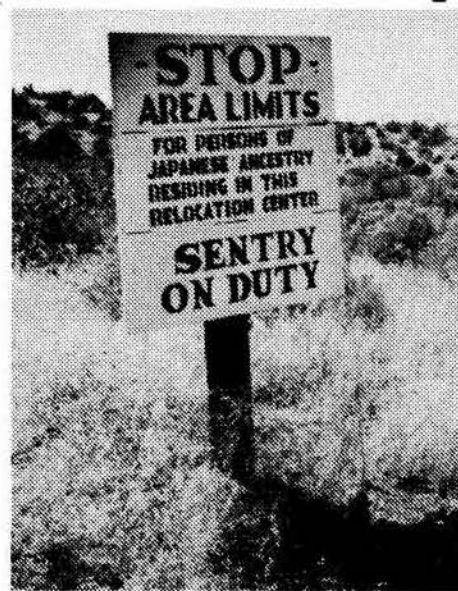
General DeWitt promptly declared the states of California, Oregon, and Washington as "military areas."

People of Japanese descent living in these states, citizen and non-citizen alike, were given notices of evacuation. They were then rounded up from their homes and farms, forced to abandon or sell their property and any belongings they couldn't carry, and taken to guarded camps in the deserts of the West.

Accused of being traitors, not one of them was ever tried for any crime of sabotage or terrorism.

The March 7, 1942, *Militant* described this move as "having the character of a racial pogrom."

The *Militant* explained: "More than simon-pure patriotism is behind the campaign of racial terrorism against all persons of Japanese descent. The corporation farmers and businessmen on the West Coast—who have long coveted the land developed



Left, one of the many boundary signs. Right, detention camp at Manzanar, California.



by Japanese settlers—have been raising the loudest voice for their evacuation.

"A California state senate committee on Feb. 27 urged immediate execution of plans for a mass evacuation because 'California farm operators cannot plan their agricultural production.'

"Surprisingly, the big corporation farm interests are not afraid of 'enemy' aliens and Japanese Americans as farm laborers—only as competitive farm owners.

"The Pacific League, Los Angeles businessmen's organization, proposes to 'draft' the evacuees into a forced labor agricultural army."

And the government thought it was OK for young Japanese-Americans to fight and die in Europe as members of the U.S. armed forces.

While the *Militant* was condemning the evacuation as an "indiscriminate and brutal witch-hunt," the Communist Party took a different stance. They supported the internment. In December 1941, all Japanese-American members of the CP were suspended from membership. They were encouraged to

go quietly into the concentration camps "for the war effort."

Although twenty years later the CP apologized for its "serious errors in our work with the Japanese in our country," it was not a mistake but part of a policy of wartime alliance with U.S. imperialism. All struggles were subordinated to the "war effort."

The internment lasted over two years. And even the closing of the camps did not end the U.S. government's racist treachery against the Japanese people.

On August 6, and three days later, on August 9, 1945, U.S. bombers dropped two atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As many as 235,000 people were killed instantly. Many thousands more were mutilated or suffered the rest of their lives with disease caused by the radiation.

A week after the bombings, the Japanese government surrendered—on terms which it had basically offered earlier. The barbarous attacks had "saved" lives, Roosevelt assured.

—Priscilla Schenk

## What's Going On

### NEW YORK MANHATTAN

**KAMPUCHEA TODAY.** A slide show with Chan Bun Han on his recent return to his homeland and the rebirth of Kampuchea (Cambodia). Talk: "What our movement can learn from the Pol Pot phenomenon." Fri., July 31, 7 p.m. Downtown Community TV, 87 Lafayette St. Donation: \$2. Refreshments. Ausp: Women Activists for Vietnam, Kampuchea & Laos. For more information call (212) 860-6274.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**'I WILL FIGHT NO MORE FOREVER.'** A film on the fight of the Nez Perce Indian Nation to retain their land in 1877. Sun., Aug. 9, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### NEW YORK

### March for Irish hunger strikers

Sat., August 8, 11:30 a.m.  
Tenth Anniversary of Internment (detention without charge or trial in Northern Ireland)  
**Assemble:** 8th Ave., between 32nd and 34th St.  
**March:** on 6th Ave. to 59th and 5th Ave.  
**Rally:** Grand Army Plaza

Initial co-sponsors: American Irish Unity Committee; American Committee for Human Rights in North of Ireland; Rockaway Park; Ancient Order of Hibernians No. 12; Rockaway; Irish National Caucus of New York;

Mid-Manhattan Unit, Irish Northern Aid; New York H-Block/Armagh Committee; All African Peoples Revolutionary Party; Catholic Peace Fellowship; Ramsey Clark; Coalition for People's Alternatives; Christine Carmody-Arey, coordinator, New Jersey National Organization for Women; Inter-Community Center for Justice and Peace; International Socialists; Mobilization for Survival Religious Task Force; New York Citizens Party; Paul O'Dwyer; Philip Wachtel, Democratic district leader 63rd A.D., New York; Peoples Anti-War Mobilization; Socialist Workers Party; Washington Square Methodist

Church; Workers World Party; New York Mobilization for Survival; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick; Black Theology Project; Rev. Daniel Berrigan; Clergy and Laity Concerned; Communist Workers Party.

Part of a coordinated day of action in cities throughout the country. All groups and individuals welcome.

**For more information:** (212) 788-1990 or 436-4770.



## James P. Cannon's writings: 1928-1931

The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-1931. By James P. Cannon. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981. 446 pp. Paper \$8.95.

*The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-1931* describes the early years of the small group that later became the Socialist Workers Party and its efforts to fight for the continuity of Marxism in the American labor movement.

James P. Cannon, founder of the SWP, had been a militant in the Socialist Party and Industrial Workers of the World. He then became a leader of the U.S. Communist Party. But in 1928 Cannon and others were expelled by the CP for supporting the policies of Russian revolutionists Lenin and Trotsky against those of Joseph Stalin.

Cannon led a small handful of revolutionaries in forming the Communist League of America (CLA), which functioned as a left opposition to the

War I to 32,000 by 1929. The United Mine Workers were down to about a fourth of their wartime membership of 400,000.

How would the relatively small handful of Marxists in the CLA begin to work in the labor movement and grow?

What approach to take to the labor movement then was a major debate among radicals. In 1929, Stalin launched an ultraleftist policy often referred to as the "Third Period."

In the United States, the Communist Party applied this in the labor movement by seeking to build unions outside the American Federation of Labor. The CP leadership declared the AFL unions "boss unions" or "non-unions" and sought to replace them with "red" or "revolutionary" unions.

Many of the AFL union leaders were castigated by the CP as "social fascists," a term also applied to the leaders and members of the Socialist Party and others.

Many of the major *Militant* articles in this book deal with this question.

"The workers organized in the AFL unions have an enormous strategic importance," Cannon explained. "We must fight the bureaucrats for influence over them from within, no matter how arduous the task, no matter how severe the persecution and discrimination against us. The abandonment of this struggle now taking place under cover of high-sounding 'radicalism' will only prevent the crystallization of an insurgent movement within the old unions and free the hands of the bureaucrats for more effective sabotage of the organization of new unions, for these two processes are bound together. The net result will be to strengthen the effectiveness of the AFL bureaucracy as a part of the capitalist war machine."

Although small in forces, the CLA

### New titles from Pathfinder

By Leon Trotsky

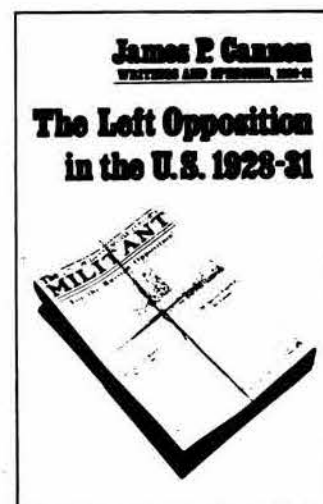
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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage.



## Books

American CP. It was the nucleus of what later became the Socialist Workers Party.

Many of the articles in this book come from the *Militant*, which was the CLA organ. They add considerably more detail to the material already published on this period in Cannon's *The History of American Trotskyism*.

The early days of the CLA were quite difficult, as editor Fred Stanton explains in his introduction to the book. In 1929 the Communist Party claimed a membership of over 7,000, while after one year of organizing the CLA had brought together about 100 members.

The labor movement was in retreat. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had dropped from a membership of over 100,000 in World

began to do work among Illinois miners. In one instance, Cannon was invited to address a mine union conference. Some modest successes were achieved in the needle trades industry and efforts begun in the food workers union.

The CLA members worked patiently in the official unions while at the same time keeping their eyes and ears open for any new opportunities to organize the industrial workers. On the surface, this opportunity didn't seem likely at the time. But events soon proved otherwise.

The battle to organize industrial unions was to begin in earnest in just a few years. One center of this battle was in Minneapolis, where strikes in 1934 by Teamsters opened up the struggle to make that city a union town and to expand Teamster organizing throughout the Midwest. This story is told in Farrell Dobbs's four-volume series on

the Teamsters. Cannon's writings from 1928 to 1931 provide useful background for this period.

Another piece of interest in the book is Cannon's review of the book *Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs*, by Wilhelm Liebknecht. Cannon points out how understanding Marx enables one to more clearly follow what was going on in the Soviet Union at the time.

There's also a review of Volume IV of Lenin's *Collected Works*, drawing lessons about party building.

*The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-1931* is an important contribution to the history of Marxism and the labor movement in this country. Cannon is also a master socialist agitator and educator, holding readers' attention by talking with them, not up to them or down to them, and explaining the seemingly most complicated ideas in a clear and succinct manner.

—Paul Montauk

## A useful handbook on defending political rights

No More Witch Hunts: Tools for Resistance. A Manual for Protecting Civil Liberties in the 80's. New York: No More Witch Hunts, 339 Lafayette Street, 1981. 16 pp. \$1.

This short pamphlet is a collection of one-page articles on eight aspects of the rollback in civil liberties and political rights by the Reagan administration.

The pamphlet was produced by No More Witch Hunts, a New York-based political rights coalition, as a "tool of

resistance." The contributing authors represent a range of groups—Center for Constitutional Rights; Covert Action Information Bulletin; North American Congress on Latin America; Socialist Workers Party; Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc.; and National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

There are articles on the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism; on moves to gut the Freedom of Information Act; the phony Red Squad

lawsuit settlement in New York City; and the efforts to revive another House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).

One piece describes an official secrets bill, the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which would prevent an organization from exposing an FBI informer in its midst.

Another article takes up the threat of deportation facing noncitizen members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and the law-

suit these two groups have filed against government crimes.

A piece on the Foreign Agents Registration Act describes its workings as a thought-control law that can be used to jail critics of the government. It was recently invoked in California against a Guatemala solidarity group.

The pamphlet contains a list of relevant organizations and publications. It also tells you how to order several films on the fight for free speech.

—Michael Smith

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.  
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# THE MILITANT

## Report from Poland

# CP congress: new faces, but not much change

By Ernest Harsch

WARSAW—Just outside the Palace of Culture and Science, where the national congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) opened on July 14, stands a huge red-and-white billboard. "The line of the party—the line of socialist renewal," it proclaims.

But all around the billboard, as at most major intersections in Warsaw, are groups of policemen. They stand or walk around in pairs, heavy rubber truncheons hanging from their belts, carefully eyeing passersby. An occasional military truck, filled with armed soldiers, drives through the streets.

The message to Poland's workers could hardly be clearer. After one year of the deepest social and political crisis in the history of the Polish People's Republic, the authorities still have no perspective of granting the fundamental demands of working people.

They will, of course, make more promises of reform—a "socialist renewal"—as they have been doing ever since the 1980 strikes. And because of the power of the unfolding workers' revolution, they will have to make more concessions. But they are still as determined as ever to resist any basic democratic changes in Poland's bureaucratic and totalitarian system of rule, especially those initiatives undertaken by the workers themselves.

"They have no program for the country," a member of the independent union movement, Solidarity, told me on July 20, the day after the congress ended. "The party will remain as isolated from society as ever."

Another Solidarity member dismissed



Polish workers read Solidarity newspaper

the entire congress discussion as the "barking of dogs."

The character of the party leadership's "socialist renewal" was highlighted by the opening speech to the congress by Stanislaw Kania, the party first secretary.

On the surface, Kania's speech appeared quite contradictory. While he talked about the need for reform, at the same time he adopted a threatening stance toward the 10-million-member Solidarity. This was a reflection of the enormous pressures bearing down on the PUWP leadership—in one direction from the workers themselves, and in the other from Moscow, which has been demanding that the Polish authorities take decisive steps to halt the spreading ferment.

Kania's basic aims are in fact the same as those of Moscow, but he differs with the Kremlin on how to achieve them.

### 'Not against socialism'

After everything that has happened over the past year, there was no way for Kania to avoid admitting some of the party's "errors"—or at least those of the previous leadership of Edward Gierek. The economic, social, and political crisis in the country, he acknowledged, was "born of general mistakes in the policy of the state's supreme authorities," especially in the area of economic policy.

In that light, Kania went on, the strikes of 1980 were not "a protest against socialism, but against a viola-

tion of its principles." The authorities, he said, "stand firmly on the ground of implementation of the August and September [1980 strike] agreements, considering it one of the essential prerequisites for overcoming the crisis."

Kania also recognized the "bitterness" of the party rank-and-file over the "deformations" within the party and the "departure from the Leninist norms of party life." The members, he said, were justified in demanding "accountability" from the leadership, and in pressing for action against officials responsible for Poland's crisis.

### Gierek expelled

In response to such widespread demands—and to the party leadership's need for some scapegoats—Gierek and a number of his cronies were expelled from the party and stripped of many of their special pensions and privileges the next day.

In one of the longer sections of his speech, Kania outlined some of the party leadership's proposals for economic and social reform. Investment outlays would be curbed, he said, so that more funds could be allocated for food, health-care, and other basic needs. He pledged greater assistance to Poland's private farmers, and promised the "inviolability of the farmers' property."

If implemented, such measures would be important gains for the Polish people. But many Poles, especially members of Solidarity, are skeptical of such promises. They have heard them before. And so far, the Kania leadership has given little indication that this time the reforms will be real, that they will be

*Continued on page 23*

## San Jose: AFSCME gains in equal pay battle

By Judy Stranahan

SAN JOSE, Calif.—It's believed to have been the first strike of its kind in U.S. history.

City workers here, members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 101, walked out July 5 demanding that women in jobs similar to men's be paid the same.

They made gains.

On July 14, city workers—primarily librarians, chemists, record clerks, stenographers, and secretaries—in the 2,000-member local ratified a new contract after a ten-day strike.

The two-year pact includes \$1.5 million in additional money to begin to close the gap in pay.

The gap is wide.

Senior librarians, a job held primarily by women, make \$23,480 a year. Senior chemists, mostly men, are paid \$29,206 a year. Under the new contract, by 1982-83 a librarian would have a salary of \$31,294 a year, while chemists would be making \$33,904—a 7.5 percent adjustment.

For the past three years, AFSCME has been raising the issue of "equal pay for work of comparable worth," as the union refers to it.

In December 1980, Hay Associates, a San Francisco-based personnel consultants firm, completed a two-year study

for the city of salary inequalities between city jobs held predominantly by women and those held by men.

It showed that women working in jobs where women predominate, such as clerical, library, and recreation workers, average 15 percent less than men with comparable jobs in traditional female classifications—a disparity of \$3,000 a year.

The strike had the support of both women and men. Sylvia Mavrogenes, a bilingual children's librarian (bi-weekly pay, \$656) told why she was picketing: "If something were to happen to my husband, I could not support my two children."

Ralph Cianciola, a thirty-four-year-old housing rehabilitation technician, was walking the picket line despite the fact that his job classification would not be upgraded.

"I've got a mother sixty-seven years old who's been going through these hassles since she was fourteen, and I've got a sister who's been through the same thing. My wife's going back to school because she can't make a decent living without a degree. And I've got two young daughters, aged five and seven, and I don't want them to have to go through this. It's absurd."

William Callahan, the union's business agent, explained, "We're talking about fundamentally altering the mar-

ketplace because the marketplace is inherently discriminatory. There is no free market. The system of wages was set up by a grand conspiracy, so to speak, that has held down the wages of women to minimize labor costs."

The city government, dubbed the "feminist capital of the world" by Mayor Janet Gray Hayes because of the female majority on the city council and board of supervisors, showed its real colors during the strike. Calling the strike illegal, the administration threatened wholesale firings of strikers who did not return to work.

They became more conciliatory later, however, as the strike continued winning broad support.

A solidarity rally of over 500 was held Friday, July 10, at city hall.

Maxine Jenkins spoke for the California Nurses Association and reported that 1,800 nurses in San Francisco were negotiating over the same issue of equal pay for comparable work.

Representing AFSCME international, Cathy Collett gave greetings from "one million AFSCME members," saying that it is "not easy to be the first and that's what you are. You are in the vanguard of this fight."

Jan King, vice president of the Santa Clara Coalition of Labor Union Women, also commended the strikers.

Noreen Moore of the San Jose Na-

tional Organization for Women told the rally that one reason why men's wages are higher than women's is "because they got out and walked the street and picketed."

Mike Fuerrero, president of AFSCME Local 101, wound up the rally by announcing that all city workers had received letters from the city with threats to fire them if they didn't return to work.

Unionists brought out a metal barrel, workers threw their letters in, and the contents were set on fire to show what they thought about the city's threats.

Local Teamster and building trades unions refused deliveries to picketed city offices and shut down city construction sites.

The significance of the strike, which received national and international press coverage, was summed up in a Local 101 leaflet: "Our union has taken a courageous stand to strike unless the inequities which result in women and minorities being underpaid relative to the value of the job are corrected," it read.

"In many ways, our fight is the first of what will become a movement for justice and equality for women and men segregated into dead-end, low paying jobs."

This, Local 101 said, is a "struggle to bring dignity to the workplace."